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Selections from Livy-Sallust-Cicero

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ROMAN

HISTORICAL LITERATURE

EDITED WITH NOTES

BY

ROBERT M. SCOON, CHARLES H. JONES

AND

CHARLES CHRISTOPHER MIEROW, PH.D.

INSTRUCTORS IN CLASSICS IN PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

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PREFACE

THIS book has been prepared for use in the freshman class at Princeton. The main motive for its preparation was the desire for a new selection of passages to be read, without the necessity of using several textbooks in one term.

In order to avoid excessive bulk, no Introductions have been included in the volume.

The annotation of Part One is by Mr. Scoon, of Part Two by Mr. Mierow, and of Part Three by Mr. Jones.

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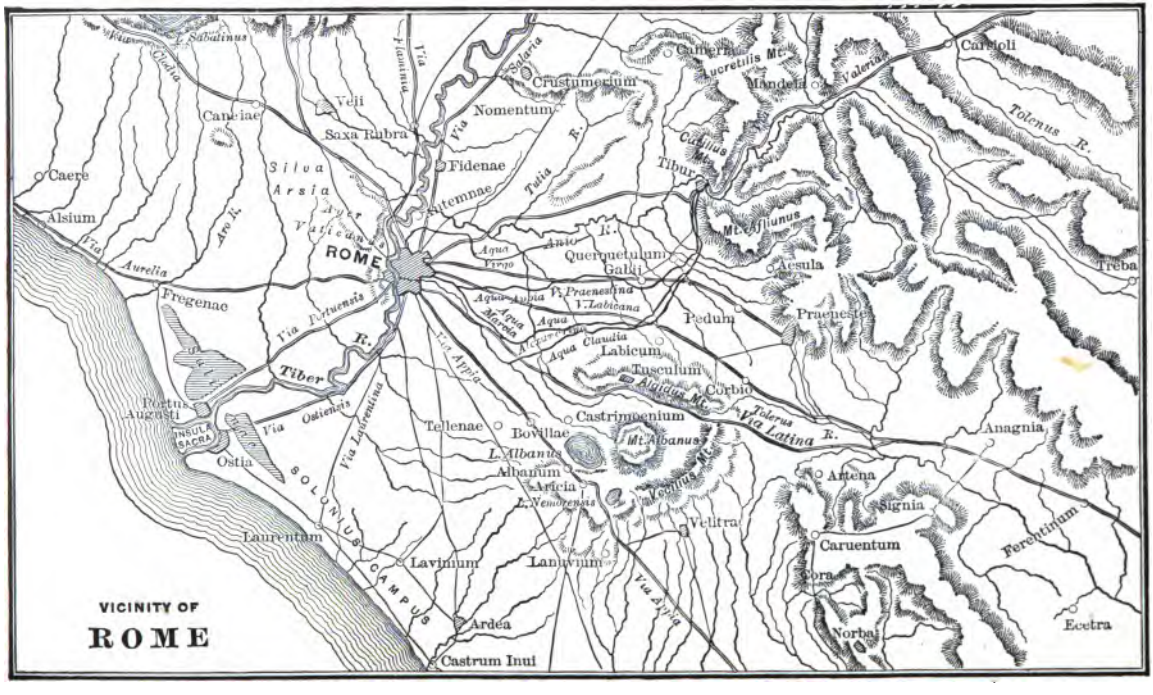
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Via Appia

LATIN SELECTIONS

PART ONE

TITI LIVI

AB URBE CONDITA LIBRI

Beginning of the Republic. Expulsion of the Tarquins and confiscation of their property. Plots for their restoration.

Liberi iam hinc populi Romani res pace belloque gestas, annuos magistratus imperiaque legum potentiora quam hominum peragam. Quae libertas ut laetior esset, proxumi regis superbia fecerat. Nam priores ita regnarunt, ut haud inmerito omnes deinceps conditores partium certe urbis, quas novas ipsi sedes ab se auctae multitudinis addiderunt, numerentur. Neque ambigitur, quin Brutus idem, qui tantum gloriae Superbo exacto rege meruit, pessimo publico id facturus fuerit, si libertatis inmaturae cupidine priorum regum alicui regnum extorsisset. Quid enim futurum fuit, si illa pastorum convenarumque plebs, transfuga ex suis populis, sub tutela inviolati templi aut libertatem aut certe inpunitatem adepta, soluta regio metu, agitari coepta esset tribuniciis procellis et in aliena urbe cum patribus serere certamina, priusquam pignera coniugum ac liberorum caritasque ipsius soli, cui longo tempore adsuescitur, animos eorum consociasset? Dissipatae res nondum adultae discordia forent; quas fovit tranquilla moderatio imperii, eoque nutriendo perduxit, ut bonam frugem libertatis

maturis iam viribus ferre posset. Libertatis autem originem inde magis, quia annuum imperium consulare factum est, quam quod deminutum quicquam sit ex regia potestate, numeres: omnia iura, omnia insignia primi consules tenuere; id modo cautum est, ne si ambo fasces haberent, duplicatus terror videretur. Brutus prior concedente collega fasces habuit, qui non acrior vindex libertatis fuerat, quam deinde custos fuit. Omnium primum avidum novae libertatis populum, ne postmodum flecti precibus aut donis regiis posset, iure iurando adegit neminem Romae passuros regnare. Deinde, quo plus virium in senatu frequentia etiam ordinis faceret, caedibus regis deminutum patrum numerum primoribus equestris gradus lectis ad trecentorum summam explevit. Traditumque inde fertur, ut in senatum vocarentur qui patres quique conscripti essent: conscriptos videlicet in novum senatum appellabant lectos. Id mirum quantum profuit ad concordiam civitatis iungendosque patribus plebis animos.

Rerum deinde divinarum habita cura; et quia quaedam publica sacra per ipsos reges factitata erant, necubi regum desiderium esset, regem sacrificulum creant. Id sacerdotium pontifici subiecere, ne additus nomini honos aliquid libertati, cuius tunc prima erat cura, officeret. Ac nescio an nimis undique eam minimisque rebus muniendo modum excesserint. Consulis enim alterius, cum nihil aliud offenderit, nomen invisum civitati fuit: nimium Tarquinios regno adsuesse. Initium a Prisco factum; regnasse dein Ser. Tullium; ne intervallo quidem facto oblitum tamquam alieni regni Superbum Tarquinium velut hereditatem gentis scelere ac vi repetisse; pulso Superbo penes Conlatinum imperium esse. Nescire Tarquinios privatos vivere. Non placere nomen, periculosum libertati esse. Hinc primo sensim temptantium

animos sermo per totam civitatem est datus, sollicitamque suspicione plebem Brutus ad contionem vocat. Ibi omnium primum ius iurandum populi recitat neminem regnare passuros nec esse Romae, unde periculum libertati foret. Id summa ope tuendum esse, neque ullam rem, quae eo pertineat, contemnendam. Invitum se dicere hominis causa, nec dicturum fuisse, ni caritas rei publicae vinceret. Non credere populum Romanum solidam libertatem reciperatam esse. Regium genus, regium nomen non solum in civitate sed etiam in imperio esse; id officere, id obstare libertati. "Hunc tu" inquit "tua voluntate, L. Tarquini, remove metum. Meminimus, fatemur, eiecisti reges; absolve beneficium tuum, aufer hinc regium nomen. Res tuas tibi non solum reddent cives tui auctore me, sed si quid deest, munifice augebunt. Amicus abi, exonera civitatem vano forsitan metu. Ita persuasum est animis, cum gente Tarquinia regnum hinc abiturum." Consuli primo tam novae rei ac subitae admiratio incluserat vocem; dicere deinde incipientem primores civitatis circumsistunt, eadem multis precibus orant. Et ceteri quidem movebant minus: postquam Spurius Lucretius, maior aetate ac dignitate, socer praeterea ipsius, agere varie rogando alternis suadendoque coepit, ut vinci se consensu civitatis pateretur, timens consul, ne postmodum privato sibi eadem illa cum bonorum amissione additaque alia insuper ignominia acciderent, abdicavit se consulatu, rebusque suis omnibus Lavinium translatis civitate cessit. Brutus ex senatus consulto ad populum tulit, ut omnes Tarquiniae gentis exules essent. Collegam sibi comitiis centuriatis creavit P. Valerium, quo adiutore reges eiecerat.

Cum haud cuiquam in dubio esset bellum ab Tarquiniis inminere, id quidem spe omnium serius fuit. Ceterum, id quod non timebant, per dolum ac proditionem prope libertas

amissa est. Erant in Romana iuventute adulescentes aliquot nec hi tenui loco orti, quorum in regno libido solutior fuerat, aequales sodalesque adulescentium Tarquiniorum, adsueti more regio vivere. Eam tum aequato iure omnium licentiam quaerentes libertatem aliorum in suam vertisse servitutem inter se conquerebantur: regem hominem esse, a quo inpetres, ubi ius, ubi iniuria opus sit; esse gratiae locum, esse beneficio: et irasci et ignoscere posse, inter amicum atque inimicum discrimen nosse. Leges rem surdam, inexorabilem esse, salubriorem melioremque inopi quam potenti, nihil laxamenti nec veniae habere, si modum excesseris; periculosum esse in tot humanis erroribus sola innocentia vivere. Ita iam sua sponte aegris animis legati ab regibus superveniunt sine mentione reditus bona tantum repetentes. Eorum verba postquam in senatu audita sunt, per aliquot dies ea consultatio tenuit, ne non reddita belli causa, reddita belli materia et adiumentum essent. Interim legati [alii] alia moliri, aperte bona repetentes clam recuperandi regni consilia struere; et tamquam ad id, quod agi videbatur, ambientes nobilium adulescentium animos pertemptant. A quibus placide oratio accepta est, iis litteras ab Tarquiniis reddunt, et de accipiendis clam nocte in urbem regibus conloquuntur.

Vitelliis Aquiliisque fratribus primo commissa res est. Vitelliorum soror consuli nupta Bruto erat, iamque ex eo matrimonio adulescentes erant liberi, Titus Tiberiusque. Eos quoque in societatem consilii avunculi adsumunt. Praeterea aliquot nobiles adulescentes conscii adsumpti, quorum vetustate memoria abiit. Interim cum in senatu vicisset sententia, quae censebat reddenda bona, eamque ipsam causam morae in urbe haberent legati, quod spatium ad vehicula conparanda a consulibus sumpsis-

sent, quibus regum asportarent res, omne id tempus cum coniuratis consultando absumunt, evincuntque instando, ut litterae sibi ad Tarquinios darentur: nam aliter qui credituros eos, non vana ab legatis super rebus tantis adferri? Datae litterae, ut pignus fidei essent, manifestum facinus fecerunt. Nam cum pridie quam legati ad Tarquinios proficiscerentur [et] cenatum forte apud Vitellios esset, coniuratique ibi remotis arbitris multa inter se de novo, ut fit, consilio egissent, sermonem eorum ex servis unus excepit, qui iam antea id senserat agi; sed eam occasionem, ut litterae legatis darentur, quae deprehensae rem coarguere possent, expectabat. Postquam datas sensit, rem ad consules detulit. Consules ad deprehendendos legatos coniuratosque profecti domo sine tumultu rem omnem oppressere, litterarum in primis habita cura, ne interciderent. Proditoribus extemplo in vincla coniectis de legatis paululum addubitatum est, et quamquam visi sunt commisisse, ut hostium loco essent, ius tamen gentium valuit.

De bonis regis, quae reddi ante censuerant, res integra refertur ad patres. Ibi victi ira vetuere reddi, vetuere in publicum redigi: diripienda plebi sunt data, ut contacta regia praeda spem in perpetuum cum iis pacis amitteret. Ager Tarquiniorum, qui inter urbem ac Tiberim fuit, consecratus Marti Martius deinde campus fuit. Forte ibi tum seges farris dicitur fuisse matura messi. Quem campi fructum quia religiosum erat consumere, desectam cum stramento segetem magna vis hominum simul inmissa corbibus fudere in Tiberim tenui fluentem aqua, ut mediis caloribus solet. Ita in vadis haesitantis frumenti acervos sedisse inlitos limo. Insulam inde paulatim et aliis, quae fert temere flumen, eodem invectis factam.

Postea credo additas moles manuque adiutum, ut tam eminens area firmaque templis quoque ac porticibus sustinendis esset.

Direptis bonis regum damnati proditores sumptumque supplicium, conspectius eo, quod poenae capiendae ministerium patri de liberis consulatus inposuit, et, qui spectator erat amovendus, eum ipsum fortuna exactorem supplicii dedit. Stabant deligati ad palum nobilissimi iuvenes. Sed a ceteris, velut ab ignotis capitibus, consulis liberi omnium in se averterant oculos, miserabatque non poenae magis homines quam sceleris, quo poenam meriti essent: illos eo potissimum anno patriam liberatam, patrem liberatorem, consulatum ortum ex domo Iunia, patres, plebem, quidquid deorum hominumque Romanorum esset, induxisse in animum, ut superbo quondam regi, tum infesto exuli proderent. Consules in sedem processere suam, missique lictores ad sumendum supplicium. Nudatos virgis caedunt securique feriunt, cum inter omne tempus pater vultusque et os eius spectaculo esset eminente animo patrio inter publicae poenae ministerium. Secundum poenam nocentium, ut in utramque partem arcendis sceleribus exemplum nobile esset, praemium indici pecunia ex aerario libertas et civitas data. Ille primum dicitur vindicta liberatus. Quidam vindictae quoque nomen tractum ab illo putant; Vindicio ipsi nomen fuisse. Post illum observatum, ut qui ita liberati essent, in civitatem accepti viderentur.

Secession of the plebs and institution of the plebeian tribunate.

Timor inde patres incessit, ne, si dimissus exercitus foret, rursus coetus occulti coniurationesque fierent. Itaque, quamquam per dictatorem dilectus habitus esset, tamen,

quoniam in consulum verba iurassent, sacramento teneri militem rati, per causam renovati ab Aequis belli educi ex urbe legiones iussere. Quo facto maturata est seditio. Et primo agitatum dicitur de consulum caede, ut solverentur sacramento; doctos deinde nullam scelere religionem exsolvi, Sicinio quodam auctore iniussu consulum in Sacrum montem secessisse. — Trans Anienem amnem est, tria ab urbe milia passuum. Ea frequentior fama est quam cuius Piso auctor est, in Aventinum secessionem factam esse. — Ibi sine ullo duce vallo fossaque communitis castris quieti, rem nullam nisi necessariam ad victum sumendo, per aliquot dies neque lacessiti neque lacessentes sese tenuere. Pavor ingens in urbe metuque mutuo suspensa erant omnia. Timere relicta ab suis plebis violentiam patrum, timere patres residem in urbe plebem, incerti, manere eam an abire mallent. Quamdiu autem tranquillam quae secesserit multitudinem fore? quid futurum deinde, si quod externum interim bellum existat? nullam profecto nisi in concordia civium spem reliquam ducere: eam per aequa per iniqua reconciliandam civitati esse. Sic placuit igitur oratorem ad plebem mitti, Menenium Agrippam, facundum virum et, quod inde oriundus erat, plebi carum.

Is intromissus in castra prisco illo dicendi et horrido modo nihil aliud quam hoc narrasse fertur: tempore quo in homine, non ut nunc, omnia in unum consentientia, sed singulis membris suum cuique consilium, suus sermo fuerit, indignatas reliquas partes sua cura, suo labore ac ministerio ventri omnia quaeri, ventrem in medio quietum nihil aliud quam datis voluptatibus frui, conspirasse inde, ne manus ad os cibum ferrent, nec os acciperet datum, nec dentes, quae conficerent. Hac ira dum ventrem

fame domare vellent, ipsa una membra totumque corpus ad extremam tabem venisse. Inde apparuisse ventris quoque haud segne ministerium esse, nec magis ali quam alere eum reddentem in omnis corporis partes hunc, quo vivimus vigemusque, divisum pariter in venas maturum confecto cibo sanguinem. Conparando hinc, quam intestina corporis seditio similis esset irae plebis in patres, flexisse mentes hominum.

Agi deinde de concordia coeptum, concessumque in condiciones, ut plebi sui magistratus essent sacrosancti, quibus auxilii latio adversus consules esset, neve cui patrum capere eum magistratum liceret. Ita tribuni plebei creati duo, C. Licinius et L. Albinus. Ii tres collegas sibi creaverunt. In his Sicinium fuisse seditionis auctorem; de duobus qui fuerint minus convenit. Sunt qui duos tantum in Sacro monte creatos tribunos esse dicant, ibique sacratam legem latam. . . .

Eodem anno Agrippa Menenius moritur, vir omni in vita pariter patribus ac plebi carus, post secessionem carior plebi factus. Huic interpreti arbitroque concordiae civium, legato patrum ad plebem, reductori plebis Romanae in urbem sumptus funeri defuit. Extulit eum plebs sextantibus conlatis in capita.

The Valerio-Horatian Laws.

Per interregem deinde consules creati L. Valerius M. Horatius, qui extemplo magistratum occeperunt. Quorum consulatus popularis sine ulla patrum iniuria, nec sine offensione fuit: quidquid enim libertati plebis caveretur, id suis decedere opibus credebant. Omnium primum, cum velut in controverso iure esset, tenerenturne patres plebi scitis, legem centuriatis comitiis tulere, ut quod

tributim plebis iussisset, populum teneret, qua lege tribuniciis rogationibus telum acerrimum datum est. Aliam deinde consularem legem de provocatione, unicum praesidium libertatis, decemvirali potestate eversam non restituunt modo, sed etiam in posterum muniunt sanciendo novam legem, ne quis ullum magistratum sine provocatione crearet; qui creasset, eum ius fasque esset occidi, neve ea caedes capitalis noxae haberetur. Et cum plebem hinc provocatione, hinc tribunicio auxilio satis firmassent. Ipsis quoque tribunis, ut sacrosancti viderentur, cuius rei prope iam memoria aboleverat, relatis quibusdam ex magno intervallo caerimoniis renovarunt, et cum religione inviolatos eos tum lege etiam fecerunt sanciendo, ut qui tribunis plebis, aedilibus, iudicibus decemviris nocuisset, eius caput Iovi sacrum esset, familia ad aedem Cereris, Liberi Liberaeque venum iret. — Hac lege iuris interpretes negant quemquam sacrosanctum esse, sed eum, qui eorum cuiquam nocuerit, [id] sacrum sanciri. Itaque aedilem prendi ducique a maioribus magistratibus, quod etsi non iure fiat — noceri enim ei, cui hac lege non liceat —, tamen argumentum esse non haberi pro sacro sanctoque aedilem; tribunos vetere iure iurando plebis, cum primum eam potestatem creavit, sacrosanctos esse. Fuere qui interpretarentur, eadam hac Horatia lege consulibus quoque et praetoribus, quia eisdem auspiciis quibus consules crearentur, cautum esse: iudicem enim consulem appellari. Quae refellitur interpretatio, quod iis temporibus nondum consulem iudicem, sed praetorem appellari mos fuerat. Hae consulares leges fuere. Institutum etiam ab isdem consulibus, ut senatus consulta in aedem Cereris ad aediles plebis deferrentur, quae antea arbitrio consulum supprimebantur vitiabanturque. M. Duillius

deinde tribunus plebis plebem rogavit plebesque scivit, qui plebem sine tribunis reliquisset, quique magistratum sine provocatione creasset, tergo ac capite puniretur. Haec omnia ut invitis ita non adversantibus patriciis transacta, quia nondum in quemquam unum saeviebatur.

The Canuleian Law.

Hos secuti M. Genucius et C. Curtius consules. Fuit annus domi forisque infestus. Nam principio anni et de conubio patrum et plebis C. Canuleius tribunus plebis rogationem promulgavit, qua contaminari sanguinem suum patres confundique iura gentium rebantur, et mentio primo sensim inlata a tribunis, ut alterum ex plebe consulem liceret fieri, eo processit deinde, ut rogationem novem tribuni promulgarent, ut populo potestas esset, seu de plebe seu de patribus vellet, consules faciendi; id vero si fieret, non vulgari modo cum infimis, sed prorsus auferri a primoribus ad plebem summum imperium credebant. Laeti ergo audiere patres Ardeatium populum ob iniuriam agri abiudicati descisse et Veientes depopulatos extrema agri Romani et Volscos Aequosque ob communitam Verruginem fremere; adeo vel infelix bellum ignominiosae paci praeferebant. His itaque in maius etiam acceptis, ut inter strepitum tot bellorum conticiscerent actiones tribuniciae, dilectus haberi, bellum armaque vi summa apparari iubent, si quo intentius possit, quam T. Quinctio consule apparatum sit. Tum C. Canuleius pauca in senatu vociferatus: nequiquem territando consules avertere plebem a cura novarum legum; numquam eos se vivo dilectum habituros, antequam ea, quae promulgata ab se collegisque essent, plebes scivisset, confestim ad contionem advocavit.

The consular tribunes.

Cum in contionem consules processissent et res a perpetuis orationibus in altercationem vertisset, alter roganti tribuno, cur plebeium consulem fieri non oporteret, ut fortasse vere, sic parum utiliter in praesens certamen respondit, "quod nemo plebeius auspicia haberet, ideoque decemviros conubium diremisse, ne incerta prole auspicia turbarentur." Plebes ad id maxime indignatione exarsit, quod auspicari, tamquam invisi diis inmortalibus, negarentur posse; nec ante finis contentionum fuit, cum et tribunum acerrimum auctorem plebes nacta esset et ipsa cum eo pertinacia certaret, quam victi tandem patres, ut de conubio ferretur, concessere, ita maxime rati contentionem de plebeis consulibus tribunos aut totam deposituros aut post bellum dilaturos esse contentamque interim conubio plebem paratam dilectui fore.

Cum Canuleius victoria de patribus et plebis favore ingens esset, accensi alii tribuni ad certamen pro rogatione sua summa vi pugnant et crescente in dies fama belli dilectum inpediunt. Consules, cum per senatum intercedentibus tribunis nihil agi posset, consilia principum domi habebant. Apparebat aut hostibus aut civibus de victoria concedendum esse. Soli ex consularibus Valerius atque Horatius non intererant consiliis. C. Claudi sententia consules armabat in tribunos; Quinctiorum, Cincinnatique et Capitolini, sententiae abhorrebant a caede violandisque, quos foedere icto cum plebe sacrosanctos accepissent. Per haec consilia eo deducta est res, ut tribunos militum consulari potestate promiscue ex patribus ac plebe creari sinerent, de consulibus creandis nihil mutaretur; eoque contenti tribuni, contenta plebs fuit.

Comitia tribunis consulari potestate tribus creandis in-

dicuntur. Quibus indictis extemplo quicumque aliquid seditiose dixerat aut fecerat umquam, maxime tribunicii, et prensare homines et concursare toto foro candidati coepere, ut patricios desperatio primo inritata plebe apiscendi honoris, deinde indignatio, si cum his gerendus esset honos, deterreret. Postremo coacti tamen a primoribus petiere ne cessisse possessione rei publicae viderentur. Eventus eorum comitiorum docuit alios animos in contentione libertatis dignitatisque, alios secundum deposita certamina incorrupto iudicio esse; tribunos enim omnes patricios creavit populus, contentus eo quod ratio habita plebeiorum esset. Hanc modestiam aequitatemque et altitudinem animi ubi nunc in uno inveneris, quae tum populi universi fuit!

The censorship.

Hunc annum — seu tribunos modo seu tribunis suffectos consules quoque habuit — sequitur annus haud dubiis consulibus M. Geganio Macerino iterum, T. Quinctio Capitolino quintum [consule]. Idem hic annus censurae initium fuit, rei a parva origine ortae, quae deinde tanto incremento aucta est, ut morum disciplinaeque Romanae penes eam regimen, *in* senatu equitumque centuriis decoris dedecorisque discrimen sub dicione eius magistratus, ius publicorum privatorumque locorum, vectigalia populi Romani sub nutu atque arbitrio essent. Ortum autem initium est rei, quod in populo per multos annos incenso neque differi census poterat neque consulibus, cum tot populorum bella imminerent, operae erat id negotium agere. Mentio inlata apud senatum est rem operosam ac minime consularem suo proprio magistratu egere, cui scribarum ministerium custodiaeque tabularum cura, cui arbitrium formulae censendi subiceretur. Et patres quamquam rem parvam, tamen quo

plures patricii magistratus in re publica essent, laeti accepere, id quod evenit futurum, credo, etiam rati, ut mox opes eorum, qui praeessent, ipsi honori ius maiestatemque adicerent; et tribuni, id quod tunc erat, magio necessarii quam speciosi ministerii procurationem intuentes, ne in parvis quoque rebus incommode adversarentur, haud sane tetendere. Cum a primoribus civitatis spretus honor esset, Papirium Semproniumque, quorum de consulatu dubitatur, ut eo magistratu parum solidum consulatum explerent, censui agendo populus suffragiis praefecit. Censores ab re appellati sunt.

The senate votes pay for the army.

Additum deinde omnium maxime tempestivo principum in multitudinem munere, ut ante mentionem ullam plebis tribunorumve decerneret senatus, ut stipendium miles de publico acciperet, cum ante id tempus de suo quisque functus eo munere esset.

Nihil acceptum umquam a plebe tanto gaudio traditur. Concursum itaque ad curiam esse prensatasque exeuntium manus et patres vere appellatos, effectum esse fatentibus, ut nemo pro tam munifica patria, donec quicquam virium superesset, corpori aut sanguini suo parceret. Cum commoditas iuvaret, rem familiarem saltem acquiescere eo tempore, quo corpus addictum atque operatum rei publicae esset, tum quod ultro sibi oblatum esset, non a tribunis plebis umquam agitatum non suis sermonibus efflagitatum, id efficiebat multiplex gaudium cumulatioremque gratiam rei. Tribuni plebis communis ordinum laetitiae concordiaeque soli expertes negare tam id laetum patribus nec universis prosperum fore, quam ipsi crederent. Consilium specie prima melius fuisse quam usu appariturum. Unde enim

eam pecuniam confici posse nisi tributo populo indicto? Ex alieno igitur aliis largitos. Neque id, etiamsi ceteri ferant, passuros eos, quibus iam emerita stipendia essent, meliore condicione alios militare, quam ipsi militassent, et eosdem in sua stipendia inpensas fecisse et in aliorum facere. His vocibus moverunt partem plebis. Postremo indicto iam tributo edixerunt etiam tribuni auxilio se futuros, si quis in militare stipendium tributum non contulisset. Patres bene coeptam rem perseveranter tueri; conferre ipsi primi et, quia nondum argentum signatum erat, aes grave plaustris quidam ad aerarium convehentes speciosam etiam conlationem faciebant. Cum senatus summa fide excensu contulisset, primores plebis, nobilium amici, ex conposito conferre incipiunt. Quos cum et a patribus conlaudari et a militari aetate tamquam bonos cives conspici vulgus hominum vidit, repente spreto tribunicio auxilio certamen conferendi est ortum.

Et lege perlata de indicendo Veientibus bello exercitum magna ex parte voluntarium novi tribuni militum consulari potestate Veios duxere.

The capture of Veii.

Iam ludi Latinaeque instauratae erant, iam ex lacu Albano aqua emissa in agros, Veiosque fata adpetebant. Igitur fatalis dux ad excidium illius urbis servandaeque patriae M. Furius Camillus dictator dictus magistrum equitum P. Cornelium Scipionem dixit.

Omnia repente mutaverat imperator mutatus: alia spes, alius animus hominum, fortuna quoque alia urbis videri. Omnium primum in eos, qui a Veis in illo pavore fugerant, more militari animadvertit effecitque, ne hostis maxime timendus militi esset. Deinde indicto dilectu in diem certam ipse interim Veios ad confirmandos militum animos

intercurrit; inde Romam ad scribendum novum exercitum redit nullo detractante militiam. Peregrina etiam iuventus, Latini Hernicique, operam suam pollicentes ad id bellum venere; quibus cum gratias in senatu egisset dictator, satis iam omnibus ad id bellum paratis ludos magnos ex senatus consulto vovit Veis captis se facturum aedemque Matutae matris refectam dedicaturum iam ante ab rege Ser. Tullio dedicatam.

Profectus cum exercitu ab urbe expectatione hominum maiore quam spe in agro primum Nepesino cum Faliscis et Capenatibus signa confert. Omnia ibi summa ratione consilioque acta fortuna etiam, ut fit, secuta est. Non proelio tantum fudit hostes, sed castris quoque exuit ingentique praeda est potitus; cuius pars maxima ad quaestorem redacta est, haud ita multum militi datum. Inde ad Veios exercitus ductus, densioraque castella facta et a procursationibus quae multae temere inter murum ac vallum fiebant, edicto ne quis iniussu pugnaret, ad opus milites traducti. Operum fuit omnium longe maximum ac laboriosissimum cuniculus in arcem hostium agi coeptus. Quod ne intermitteretur opus neu sub terra continuus labor eosdem conficeret, in partes sex munitorum numerum divisit; senae horae in orbem operi attributae sunt; nocte ac die numquam ante omissum, quam in arcem viam facerent.

Dictator cum iam in manibus videret victoriam esse, urbem opulentissimam capi tantumque praedae fore, quantum non omnibus in unum conlatis ante bellis fuisset, ne quam inde aut militum iram ex malignitate praedae partitae aut invidiam apud patres ex prodiga largitione caperet, litteras ad senatum misit: deum inmortalium benignitate, suis consiliis, patientia militum Veios iam fore in potestate populi Romani; quid de praeda faciendum censerent?

Duae senatum distinebant sententiae, senis P. Licini, quem primum dixisse a filio interrogatum ferunt, edici palam placere populo, ut qui particeps esse praedae vellet, in castra Veios iret, altera Ap. Claudi, qui largitionem novam, prodigam, inaequalem, inconsultam arguens, si semel nefas ducerent captam ex hostibus in aerario exhausto bellis pecuniam esse, auctor erat stipendii ex ea pecunia militi numerandi, ut eo minus tributi plebes conferret; eius enim doni societatem sensuras aequaliter omnium domos, non avidas in direptiones manus otiosorum urbanorum praerepturas fortium bellatorum praemia esse, cum ita ferme eveniat, ut segnior sit praedator, ut quisque laboris periculique praecipuam petere partem soleat.

Licinius contra suspectam et invisam semper eam pecuniam fore aiebat causasque criminum ad plebem, seditionum inde ac legum novarum praebituram; satius igitur esse reconciliari eo dono plebis animos, exhaustis atque exinanitis tributo tot annorum succurri et sentire praedae fructum ex eo bello, in quo prope consenuerint. Gratius id fore laetiusque, quod quisque sua manu ex hoste captum domum rettulerit, quam si multiplex alterius arbitrio accipiat. Ipsum dictatorem fugere invidiam ex eo criminaque; eo delegasse ad senatum; senatum quoque debere reiectam rem ad se permittere plebi ac pati habere, quod cuique fors belli dederit.

Haec tutior visa sententia est, quae popularem senatum faceret. Edictum itaque est, ad praedam Veientem, quibus videretur, in castra ad dictatorem proficiscerentur.

Ingens profecta multitudo replevit castra. Tum dictator auspicato egressus, cum edixisset ut arma milites caperent, "Tuo ductu" inquit, "Pythice Apollo, tuoque numine instinctus pergo ad delendam urbem Veios tibique hinc

decimam partem praedae voveo. Te simul, Iuno regina, quae nunc Veios colis, precor, ut nos victores in nostram tuamque mox futuram urbem sequare, ubi te dignum amplitudine tua templum accipiat." Haec precatus superante multitudine ab omnibus locis urbem adgreditur, quo minor ab cuniculo ingruentis periculi sensus esset. Veientes, ignari se iam a suis vatibus, iam ab externis oraculis proditos, iam in partem praedae suae vocatos deos, alios votis ex urbe sua evocatos hostium templa novasque sedes spectare seque ultimum illum diem agere, nihil minus timentes quam subrutis cuniculo moenibus arcem iam plenam hostium esse in muros pro se quisque armati discurrunt mirantes quidnam id esset quod, cum tot per dies nemo se ab stationibus Romanus movisset, tum velut repentino icti furore inprovidi currerent ad muros.

Inseritur huic loco fabula: immolante rege Veientium vocem haruspicis dicentis, qui eius hostiae exta prosecuisset, ei victoriam dari exauditam in cuniculo movisse Romanos milites, ut adaperto cuniculo exta raperent et ad dictatorem ferrent. Sed in rebus tam antiquis si quae similia veris sint pro veris accipiantur, satis habeam; haec ad ostentationem scaenae gaudentis miraculis aptiora quam ad fidem neque adfirmare neque refellere operae pretium est.

Cuniculus delectis militibus eo tempore plenus in aedem Iunonis, quae in Veientana arce erat, armatos repente edidit, et pars aversos in muris invadunt hostes, pars claustra portarum revellunt, pars, cum ex tectis saxa tegulaeque a mulieribus ac servitiis iacerentur, inferunt ignes. Clamor omnia variis terrentium ac paventium vocibus mixto mulierum ac puerorum ploratu complet. Momento temporis deiectis ex muro undique armatis patefactisque portis cum alii agmine inruerent, alii desertos scanderent muros, urbs

hostibus inpletur; omnibus locis pugnatur; deinde multa iam edita caede senescit pugna, et dictator praecones edicere iubet, ut ab inermi abstineatur. Is finis sanguinis fuit.

Dedi inde inermes coepti, et ad praedam miles permissu dictatoris discurrit. Quae cum ante oculos eius aliquantum spe atque opinione maior maiorisque pretii rerum ferretur, dicitur manus ad caelum tollens precatus esse, ut, si cui deorum hominumque nimia sua fortuna populique Romani videretur, ut eam invidiam lenire quam minimo suo privato incommodo publicoque populi Romani liceret. Convertentem se inter hanc venerationem traditur memoriae prolapsum cecidisse, idque omen pertinuisse postea eventu rem coniectantibus visum ad damnationem ipsius Camilli, captae deinde urbis Romanae, quod post paucos accidit annos, cladem. Atque ille dies caede hostium ac direptione urbis opulentissimae est consumptus.

Postero die libera corpora dictator sub corona vendidit. Ea sola pecunia in publicum redigitur, haud sine ira plebis; et quod rettulere secum praedae, nec duci, qui ad senatum malignitatis auctores quaerendo, rem arbitrii sui reiecisset, nec senatui, sed Liciniae familiae, ex qua filius ad senatum rettulisset, pater tam popularis sententiae auctor fuisset, acceptum referebant.

Cum iam humanae opes egestae a Veis essent, amoliri tum deum dona ipsosque deos, sed colentium magis quam rapientium modo, coepere. Namque delecti ex omni exercitu iuvenes pure lautis corporibus, candida veste, quibus deportanda Romam regina Iuno adsignata erat, venerabundi templum iniere primo religiose admoventes manus, quod id signum more Etrusco nisi certae gentis sacerdos adtrectare non esset solitus. Dein cum quidam seu spiritu divino tactus seu iuvenali ioco "Visne Romam ire, Iuno?" dixisset,

adnuisse ceteri deam conclamaverunt. Inde fabulae adiectum est vocem quoque dicentis velle auditam; motam certe sede sua parvi molimenti adminiculis sequentis modo accepimus levem ac facilem tralatu fuisse integramque in Aventinum, aeternam sedem suam, quo vota Romani dictatoris vocaverant, perlatam, ubi templum ei postea idem, qui voverat, Camillus dedicavit.

Hic Veiorum occasus fuit, urbis opulentissimae Etrusci nominis, magnitudinem suam vel ultima clade indicantis, quod decem aestates hiemesque continuas circumsessa, cum plus aliquanto cladium intulisset quam accepisset, postremo iam fato quoque urgente operibus tamen, non vi expugnata est.

Romam ut nuntiatum est Veios captos, quamquam et prodigia procurata fuerant et vatum responsa et Pythicae sortes notae et, quantum humanis adiuvari consiliis potuerat res, ducem M. Furium maximum imperatorum omnium legerant, tamen, quia tot annis varie ibi bellatum erat multaeque clades acceptae, velut ex insperato inmensum gaudium fuit et, priusquam senatus decerneret, plena omnia templa Romanarum matrum grates dis agentium erant. Senatus in quadriduum, quot dierum nullo ante bello, supplicationes decernit. Adventus quoque dictatoris omnibus ordinibus obviam effusis celebratior quam ullius umquam antea fuit, triumphusque omnem consuetum honorandi diei illius modum aliquantum excessit. Maxime conspectus ipse est curru equis albis iuncto urbem invectus; parumque id non civile modo, sed humanum etiam visum. Iovis Solisque equis aequiperatum dictatorem in religionem etiam trahebant, triumphusque ob eam unam maxime rem clarior quam gratior fuit. Tum Iunoni reginae templum in Aventino locavit dedicavitque Matutae matris; atque his divinis humanisque rebus gestis dictatura se abdicavit.

Agi deinde de Apollinis dono coeptum. Cui se decumam vovisse praedae partem cum diceret Camillus, pontifices solvendum religione populum censerent, haud facile inibatur ratio iubendi referre praedam populum, ut ex ea pars debita in sacrum secerneretur. Tandem eo, quod lenissimum videbatur, decursum est, ut, qui se domumque religione exsolvere vellet, cum sibimet ipse praedam aestumasset suam, decumae pretium partis in publicum deferret, ut ex eo donum aureum, dignum amplitudine templi ac numine dei, ex dignitate populi Romani fieret. Ea quoque conlatio plebis animos a Camillo alienavit.

Inter haec pacificatum legati a Volscis et Aequis venerunt, inpetrataque pax, magis ut fessa tam diutino bello adquiesceret civitas, quam quod digni peterent.

Roman history more trustworthy after the second founding of the city.

Quae ab condita urbe Roma ad captam urbem eandem Romani sub regibus primum, consulibus deinde ac dictatoribus decemvirisque ac tribunis consularibus gessere, foris bella, domi seditiones, quinque libris exposui, res cum vetustate nimia obscuras, velut quae magno ex intervallo loci vix cernuntur, tum quod parvae et rarae per eadem tempora litterae fuere, una custodia fidelis memoriae rerum gestarum, et quod, etiam si quae in commentariis pontificum aliisque publicis privatisque erant monumentis, incensa urbe pleraeque interiere. Clariora deinceps certioraque ab secunda origine velut ab stirpibus laetius feraciusque renatae urbis gesta domi militiaeque exponentur.

The Licinio-Sextian Laws.

Quanto magis prosperis eo anno bellis tranquilla omnia foris erant, tantum in urbe vis patrum in dies miseriaeque

plebis crescebant, cum eo ipso, quod necesse erat solvi, facultas solvendi inpediretur. Itaque cum iam ex re nihil dari posset, fama et corpore, iudicati atque addicti, creditoribus satisfaciebant, poenaque in vicem fidei cesserat. Adeo ergo obnoxios summiserant animos non infimi solum, sed principes etiam plebis, ut non modo ad tribunatum militum inter patricios petendum, quod tanta vi ut liceret tetenderant, sed ne ad plebeios quidem magistratus capessendos petendosque ulli viro acri experientique animus esset, possessionemque honoris usurpati modo a plebe per paucos annos recuperasse in perpetuum patres viderentur. Ne id nimis laetum parti alteri esset, parva, ut plerumque solet, rem ingentem moliundi causa intervenit.

M. Fabi Ambusti, potentis viri cum inter sui corporis homines tum etiam ad plebem, quod haudquaquam inter id genus contemptor eius habebatur, filiae duae nuptae Ser. Sulpicio maior, minor C. Licinio Stoloni erat, inlustri quidem viro, tamen plebeio; eaque ipsa adfinitas haud spreta gratiam Fabio ad vulgum quaesierat. Forte ita incidit, ut in Ser. Sulpici tribuni militum domo sorores Fabiae cum inter se, ut fit, sermonibus tempus tererent, lictor Sulpici, cum is de foro se domum reciperet, forem, ut mos est, virga percuteret. Cum ad id, moris eius insueta, expavisset minor Fabia, risui sorori fuit, miranti ignorare id sororem. Ceterum is risus stimulos parvis mobili rebus animo muliebri subdidit. Frequentia quoque prosequentium rogantiumque, num quid vellet, credo fortunatum matrimonium ei sororis visum suique ipsam malo arbitrio, quo a proximis quisque minime anteiri vult, paenituisse. Confusam eam ex recenti morsu animi cum pater forte vidisset, percunctatus "Satin salvae?" avertentem causam doloris, quippe nec satis piam adversus sororem nec admodum in virum honorificam, elicuit

comiter sciscitando ut fateretur eam esse causam doloris, quod iuncta inpari esset, nupta in domo quam nec honos nec gratia intrare posset. Consolans inde filiam Ambustus bonum animum habere iussit: eosdem prope diem domi visuram honores, quos apud sororem videat. Inde consilia inire cum genero coepit adhibito L. Sextio, strenu adulescente et cuius spei nihil praeter genus patricium deesset.

Occasio videbatur rerum novandarum propter ingentem vim aeris alieni, cuius levamen mali plebes nisi suis in summo imperio locatis nullum speraret: accingendum ad eam cogitationem esse; conando agendoque iam eo gradum fecisse plebeios, unde, si porro adnitantur, pervenire ad summa et patribus aequari tam honore quam virtute possent.

In praesentia tribunos plebis fieri placuit, quo in magistratu sibimet ipsi viam ad ceteros honores aperirent. Creatique tribuni C. Licinius et L. Sextius promulgavere leges omnes adversus opes patriciorum et pro commodis plebis, unam de aere alieno, ut deducto eo de capite, quod usuris pernumeratum esset, id quod superesset, triennio aequis pensionibus persolveretur; alteram de modo agrorum, ne quis plus quingentas iugera agri possideret; tertiam, ne tribunorum militum comitia fierent consulumque utique alter ex plebe crearetur,—cuncta ingentia et quae sine certamine maximo obtineri non possent.

Omnium igitur simul rerum, quarum inmodica cupido inter mortales est, agri, pecuniae, honorum discrimine proposito conterriti patres cum trepidassent publicis privatisque consiliis, nullo remedio alio praeter expertam multis iam ante certaminibus intercessionem invento collegas adversus tribunicias rogationes conparaverunt. Qui ubi tribus ad suffragium ineundum citari a Licinio Sextioque viderunt, stipati patrum praesidiis ne recitari rogationes nec sollemne

quidquam aliud ad sciscendum plebi fieri passi sunt. Iamque frustra saepe concilio advocato cum pro antiquatis rogationes essent: "Bene habet" inquit Sextius; "quando quidem tantum intercessionem pollere placet, isto ipso telo tutabimur plebem. Agite dum, comitia indicite, patres, tribunis militum creandis; faxo ne iuvet vox ista 'veto,' qua nunc concinentes collegas nostros tam laeti auditis."

Haud inritae cecidere minae; comitia praeter aedilium tribunorumque plebi nulla sunt habita. Licinius Sextiusque tribuni plebis refecti nullos curules magistratus creari passi sunt; eaque solitudo magistratuum et plebe reficiente duos tribunos et iis comitia tribunorum militum tollentibus per quinquennium urbem tenuit.

The praetorship and the curule aedileship.

Annus hic erit insignis novi hominis consulatu, insignis novis duobus magistratibus, praetura et curuli aedilitate. Hos sibi patricii quaesivere honores pro concesso plebi altero consulatu. Plebes consulatum L. Sextio, cuius lege partus erat, dedit; patres praeturam Sp. Furio M. f. Camillo, aedilitatem Cn. Quinctio Capitolino et P. Cornelio Scipioni, suarum gentium viris, gratia campestri dederunt. L. Sextio collega ex patribus datus L. Aemilius Mamercinus.

Principio anni et de Gallis, quos primo palatos per Apuliam congregari iam fama erat, et de Hernicorum defectione agitata mentio. Cum de industria omnia, ne quid per plebeium consulem ageretur, proferrentur, silentium omnium rerum ac iustitio simile otium fuit, nisi quod, non patientibus tacitum tribunis, quod pro consule uno plebeio tres patricios magistratus curulibus sellis praetextatos tamquam consules sedentes nobilitas sibi sumpsisset, praetorem quidem etiam iura reddentem et collegam consulibus

atque iisdem auspiciis creatum, verecundia inde inposita est senatui ex patribus iubendi aediles curules creari. Primo, ut alternis annis ex plebe fierent, convenerat; postea promiscuum fuit.

The dictator "clavi figendi causa."

Nec tamen ludorum primum initium procurandis religionibus datum aut religione animos aut corpora morbis levavit; quin etiam, cum medios forte ludos circus Tiberi superfuso inrigatus inpedisset, id vero, velut aversis iam dis aspernantibusque placamina irae, terrorem ingentem fecit. Itaque Cn. Genucio L. Aemilio Mamercino iterum consulibus, cum piaculorum magis conquisitio animos quam corpora morbi adficerent, repetitum ex seniorum memoria dicitur, pestilentiam quondam clavo ab dictatore fixo sedatam. Ea religione adductus senatus dictatorem clavi figendi causa dici iussit. Dictus L. Manlius Imperiosus L. Pinarium magistrum equitum dixit.

Lex vetusta est, priscis litteris verbisque scripta, ut qui praetor maximus sit idibus Septembribus clavum pangat; fixa fuit dextro lateri aedis Iovis optimi maximi, ex qua parte Minervae templum est. Eum clavum, quia rarae per ea tempora litterae erant, notam numeri annorum fuisse ferunt eoque Minervae templo dicatam legem, quia numerus Minervae inventum sit. Volsiniis quoque clavos indices numeri annorum fixos in templo Nortiae, Etruscae deae, conparere diligens talium monumentorum auctor Cincius adfirmat. Horatius consul ea lege templum Iovis optimi maximi dedicavit anno post reges exactos; a consulibus postea ad dictatores, quia maius imperium erat, sollemne clavi figendi translatum est. Intermisso deinde more digna etiam per se visa res, propter quam dictator crearetur.

Qua de causa creatus L. Manlius, perinde ac rei gerendae ac non solvendae religionis gratia creatus esset, bellum Hernicum adfectans dilectu acerbo iuventutem agitavit; tandemque omnibus in eum tribunis plebis coortis, seu vi seu verecundia victus, dictatura abiit.

The chasm in the Forum.

Eodem anno, seu motu terrae seu qua vi alia, forum medium ferme specu vasto conlapsum in inmensam altitudinem dicitur; neque eam voraginem coniectu terrae, cum pro se quisque gereret, expleri potuisse, priusquam deum monitu quaeri coeptum, quo plurimum populus Romanus posset: id enim illi loco dicandum vates canebant, si rem publicam Romanam perpetuam esse vellent. Tum M. Curtium, iuvenem bello egregium, castigasse ferunt dubitantes, an ullum magis Romanum bonum quam arma virtusque esset, *et* silentio facto templa deorum inmortalium, quae foro inminent, Capitoliumque intuentem et manus nunc in caelum, nunc in patentes terrae hiatus *ad* deos manes porrigentem se devovisse; equoque deinde quam poterat maxime exornato insidentem armatum se in specum inmisisse, donaque ac fruges super eum a multitudine virorum ac mulierum congestas, lacumque Curtium non ab antiquo illo T. Tati milite Curtio Mettio, sed ab hoc appellatum. Cura non deesset, si qua ad verum via inquirentem ferret; nunc fama rerum standum est, ubi certam derogat vetustas fidem; et lacus nomen ab hac recentiore insignitius fabula est.

Abolition of the "Nexum."

Eo anno plebei Romanae velut aliud initium libertatis factum est, quod necti desierunt; mutatum autem ius ob unius faeneratoris simul libidinem simul crudelitatem in-

signem. L. Papirius is fuit, cui cum se C. Publílius ob aes alienum paternum nexum dedisset, quae aetas formaque misericordiam elicere poterant, ad libidinem et contumeliam animum accenderunt. [Ut] florem aetatis eius fructum adventicium crediti ratus, primo perlicere adulescentem sermone incesto est conatus; dein, postquam aspernabantur flagitium aures, minis territare atque identidem admonere fortunae; postremo, cum ingenuitatis magis quam praesentis condicionis memorem videret, nudari iubet verberaque adferri. Quibus laceratus iuvenis cum se in publicum proripuisset, libidinem crudelitatemque conquerens faeneratoris, ingens vis hominum cum aetatis miseratione atque indignitate iniuriae accensa, tum suae condicionis liberumque suorum respectu, in forum atque inde agmine facto ad curiam concurrit; et, cum consules tumultu repentino coacti senatum vocarent, introeuntibus in curiam patribus laceratum iuvenis tergum, procumbentes ad singulorum pedes, ostentabant. Victum eo die ob inpotentem iniuriam unius ingens vinculum fidei; iussique consules ferre ad populum, ne quis, nisi qui noxam meruisset, donec poenam lueret, in conpedibus aut in nervo teneretur; pecuniae creditae bona debitoris, non corpus obnoxium esset. ita nexi soluti, cautumque in posterum, ne necterentur.

The censorship of Appius Claudius.

Et censura clara eo anno Ap. Claudi et C. Plauti fuit, memoriae tamen felicioris ad posteros nomen Appi *est*, quod viam munivit et aquam in urbem duxit eaque unus perfecit, quia ob infamem atque invidiosam senatus lectionem verecundia victus collega magistratu se abdicaverat; Appius iam inde antiquitus insitam pertinaciam familiae gerendo solus censuram obtinuit.

Eodem Appio auctore Potitii, gens cuius ad aram maximam Herculis familiare sacerdotium fuerat, servos publicos ministerii delegandi causa sollemnia eius sacri docuerant. Traditur inde, dictu mirabile et quod demovendis statu suo sacris religionem facere possit, cum duodecim familiae ea tempestate Potitiorum essent, puberes ad triginta, omnis intra annum cum stirpe exstinctos; nec nomen tantum Potitiorum interisse sed censorem etiam Appium memori deum ira post aliquot annos luminibus captum.

Permulti anni iam erant cum inter patricios magistratus tribunosque nulla certamina fuerant, cum ex ea familia quae velut fatales cum tribunis ac plebe *simultates exerc*ebat, certamen oritur. Ap. Claudius censor circumactis decem et octo mensibus, quod Aemilia lege finitum censurae spatium temporis erat, cum C. Plautius, collega eius, magistratu se abdicasset, nulla vi conpelli ut abdicaret potuit. P. Sempronius erat tribunus plebis, qui finiendae censurae intra legitimum tempus actionem susceperat, non popularem magis quam iustam nec in vulgus quam optimo cuique gratiorem. Is cum identidem legem Aemiliam recitaret auctoremque eius Mam. Aemilium dictatorem laudibus ferret, qui quinquennalem ante censuram et longinquitate potestatis dominantem intra sex mensum et anni coegisset spatium, "Dic agedum" inquit, "Ap. Claudi, quidnam facturus fueris, si eo tempore quo C. Furius et M. Geganius censores fuerunt, censor fuisses." Negare Appius interrogationem tribuni magno opere ad causam pertinere suam; nam etsi tenuerit lex Aemilia eos censores quorum in magistratu lata esset, quia post illos censores creatos eam legem populus iussisset quodque postremum iussisset, id ius ratumque esset, non tamen aut se aut eorum quemquam qui post eam legem latam creati censores essent, teneri ea lege potuisse.

Haec sine ullius adsensu cavillante Appio "En" inquit, "Quirites, illius Appi progenies, qui decemvir in annum creatus altero anno se ipse creavit, tertio nec ab se nec ab ullo creatus privatus fasces et imperium obtinuit nec ante continuando abstitit magistratu quam obruerent eum male parta, male gesta, male retenta imperia. Haec est eadem familia, Quirites, cuius vi atque iniuriis conpulsi extorres patria Sacrum montem cepistis; haec, adversus quam tribunicium auxilium vobis conparastis; haec, propter quam duo exercitus Aventinum insedistis; haec, quae faenebres leges, haec, quae agrarias semper inpugnavit. Haec conubia patrum et plebis interrupit; haec plebi ad curules magistratus iter obsaepsit. Hoc est nomen multo quam Tarquiniorum infestius vestrae libertati. Itane tandem, Ap. Claudi? Cum centesimus iam annus sit ab Mam. Aemilio dictatore, tot censores fuerint, nobilissimi fortissimique viri, nemo eorum duodecim tabulas legit? Nemo id ius esse, quod postremo populus iussisset, sciit? Immo vero omnes scierunt et ideo Aemiliae potius legi paruerunt quam illi antiquae qua primum censores creati erant, quia hanc postremam iusserat populus et quia, ubi duae contrariae leges sunt, semper antiquae obrogat nova. An hoc dicis, Appi, non teneri Aemilia lege populum? an populum teneri, te unum exlegem esse? Tenuit Aemilia lex violentos illos censores C. Furium et M. Geganium, qui quid iste magistratus in re publica mali facere posset indicarunt, cum ira finitae potestatis Mam. Aemilium, principem aetatis suae belli domique, aerarium fecerunt; tenuit deinceps omnes censores intra centum annorum spatium; tenet C. Plautium, collegam tuum, iisdem auspiciis, eodem iure creatum. An hunc non, ut qui optimo iure censor creatus esset, populus creavit? Tu unus eximius es, in quo hoc praecipuum ac

singulare valeat? Quem tu regem sacrificiorum crees? Amplexus regni nomen, ut qui optimo iure rex Romae creatus sit, creatum se dicet. Quem semestri dictatura, quem interregno quinque dierum contentum fore putes? Quem clavi figendi aut ludorum causa dictatorem audacter crees? Quam isti stolidos ac socordes videri creditis eos qui intra vicesimum diem ingentibus rebus gestis dictatura se abdicaverunt aut qui vitio creati abierunt magistratu? Quid ego antiqua repetam? Nuper intra decem annos C. Maenius dictator, quia, cum quaestiones severius quam quibusdam potentibus tutum erat exerceret, contagio eius quod quaerebat ipse criminis obiectata ab inimicis est, ut privatus obviam iret crimini, dictatura se abdicavit. Nolo ego istam in te modestiam; ne degeneraveris a familia imperiosissima et superbissima; non die, non hora citius quam necesse est magistratu abieris, modo ne excedas finitum tempus. Satis est aut diem aut mensem censurae adicere? Triennium, inquit, et sex menses ultra quam licet Aemilia lege censuram geram et solus geram. Hoc quidem iam regno simile est. An collegam subrogabis, quem ne in demortui quidem locum subrogari fas est? Paenitet enim, quod antiquissimum sollemne et solum ab ipso cui fit institutum deo ab nobilissimis antistitibus eius sacri ad servorum ministerium religiosus censor deduxisti, gens antiquior originibus urbis huius, hospitio deorum inmortalium sancta, propter te ac tuam censuram intra annum ab stirpe extincta est, nisi universam rem publicam eo nefario obstrinxeris, quod ominari etiam reformidat animus. Urbs eo lustro capta est quo demortuo [collega] C. Iulio censore L. Papirius Cursor, ne abiret magistratu, M. Cornelium Maluginensem collegam subrogavit. Et quando modestior illius cupiditas fuit quam tua, Appi? Nec solus nec ultra finitum

lege tempus L. Papirius censuram gessit; tamen neminem invenit qui se postea auctorem sequeretur; omnes deinceps censores post mortem collegae se magistratu abdicarunt. Te nec quod dies exiit censurae, nec quod collega magistratu abiit, nec lex nec pudor coercet: virtutem in superbia, in audacia, in contemptu deorum hominumque ponis. Ego te, Ap. Claudi, pro istius magistratus maiestate ac verecundia quem gessisti, non modo manu violatum, sed ne verbo quidem inclementiori a me appellatum vellem; sed et haec quae adhuc egi pervicacia tua et superbia coegit me loqui, et nisi Aemiliae legi parueris in vincula duci iubebo nec, cum ita conparatum a maioribus sit ut comitiis censoriis nisi duo confecerint legitima suffragia non renuntiato altero comitia differantur, ego te qui solus censor creari non possis solum censuram gerere patiar."

Haec taliaque cum dixisset, prendi censorem et in vincula duci iussit. Adprobantibus sex tribunis actionem collegae tres appellanti Appio auxilio fuerunt; summaque invidia omnium ordinum solus censuram gessit.

Prodigies reported during Hannibal's first winter in Italy.

Romae aut circa urbem multa ea hieme prodigia facta aut, quod evenire solet motis semel in religionem animis, multa nuntiata et temere credita sunt, in quis ingenuum infantem semestrem in foro olitorio triumphum clamasse, et *in* foro boario bovem in tertiam contignationem sua sponte escendisse atque inde tumultu habitatorum territum sese deiecisse, et navium speciem de caelo adfulsisse, et aedem Spei, quae est in foro olitorio, fulmine ictam, et Lanuvi hastam se commovisse et corvum in aedem Iunonis devolasse atque in ipso pulvinari consedisse, et in agro Amiternino multis locis hominum specie procul candida

veste visos nec cum ullo congressos, et in Piceno lapidibus pluvisse, et Caere sortes extenuatas, et in Gallia lupum vigili gladium ex vagina raptum abstulisse. Ob cetera prodigia libros adire decemviri iussi; quod autem lapidibus pluvisset in Piceno, novemdiale sacrum edictum et subinde aliis procurandis prope tota civitas operata fuit. Iam primum omnium urbs lustrata est hostiaeque maiores quibus editum est diis caesae, et donum ex auri pondo quadraginta Lanuvium Iunoni portatum est, et signum aeneum matronae Iunoni in Aventino dedicaverunt, et lectisternium Caere, ubi sortes adtenuatae erant, imperatum et supplicatio Fortunae in Algido; Romae quoque et lectisternium Iuventati et supplicatio ad aedem Herculis nominatim, deinde universo populo circa omnia pulvinaria indicta, et Genio maiores hostiae caesae quinque, et C. Atilius Serranus praetor vota suscipere iussus, si in decem annos res publica eodem stetisset statu. Haec procurata votaque ex libris Sibyllinis magna ex parte levaverant religione animos.

Hannibal at the gates of Rome.

In hoc tumultu Fulvius Flaccus porta Capena cum exercitu Romam ingressus media urbe per Carinas Esquilias contendit; inde egressus inter Esquilinam Collinamque portam posuit castra. Aediles plebis commeatum eo conportarunt. Consules senatusque in castra venerunt. Ibi de summa re publica consultatum. Placuit consules circa portas Collinam Esquilinamque ponere castra, C. Calpurnium praetorem urbanum Capitolio atque arci praeesse et senatum frequentem in foro contineri, si quid in tam subitis rebus consulto opus esset. Inter haec Hannibal ad Anienem fluvium tria milia passuum ab urbe castra admovit. Ibi stativis positis ipse cum duobus milibus equitum ad portam

Collinam usque ad Herculis templum est progessus atque, unde proxime poterat, moenia situmque urbis obequitans contemplabatur. Id eum tam licenter atque otiose facere Flacco indignum visum est; itaque immisit equites summoverique atque in castra redigi hostium equitatum iussit. Cum commissum proelium esset, consules transfugas Numidarum, qui tum in Aventino ad mille et ducenti erant, media urbe transire Esquilias iusserunt, nullos aptiores inter convalles tectaque hortorum et sepulcra et cavas undique vias ad pugnandum futuros rati. Quos cum ex arce Capitolioque clivo Publicio in equis decurrentis quidam vidissent, captum Aventinum conclamaverunt. Ea res tantum tumultum ac fugam praebuit ut, nisi castra Punica extra urbem fuissent, effusura se omnis pavida multitudo fuerit; tunc in domos atque in tecta refugiebant vagosque in viis suos *pro* hostibus lapidibus telisque incessebant. Nec comprimi tumultus aperirique error poterat refertis itineribus agrestium turba pecorumque quae repentinus pavor in urbem compulerat. Equestre proelium secundum fuit, summotique hostes sunt. Et quia multis locis comprimendi tumultus erant qui temere oriebantur, placuit omnes qui dictatores, consules censoresve fuissent cum imperio esse, donec recessisset a muris hostis. Et diei quod reliquum fuit et nocte insequenti multi temere excitati tumultûs sunt compressique.

Postero die transgressus Anienem Hannibal in aciem omnis copias eduxit; nec Flaccus consulesque certamen detrectavere. Instructis utrimque exercitibus in eius pugnae casum in qua urbs Roma victori praemium esset, imber ingens grandine mixtus ita utramque aciem turbavit ut vix armis retentis in castra sese receperint nullius rei minore quam hostium metu. Et postero die eodem loco acies in-

structas eadem tempestas diremit. Ubi recepissent se in castra, mira serenitas cum tranquillitate oriebatur. In religionem ea res apud Poenos versa est, auditaque vox Hannibalis fertur, potiundae sibi urbis Romae modo mentem non dari, modo fortunam. Minuere etiam spem eius duae aliae, parva magnaque, res: magna illa, quod, cum ipse ad moenia urbis Romae armatus sederet, milites sub vexillis in supplementum Hispaniae profectos audiit; parva autem, quod *per* eos dies eum forte agrum in quo ipse castra haberet venisse nihil ob id deminuto pretio cognitum ex quodam captivo est. Id vero adeo superbum atque indignum visum, eius soli quod ipse bello captum possideret haberetque inventum Romae emptorem, ut extemplo vocato praecone tabernas argentarias quae circa forum Romanum essent iusserit venire. His motus ad Tutiam fluvium castra rettulit, sex milia passuum ab urbe. Inde ad lucum Feroniae pergit ire, templum ea tempestate inclutum divitiis. Capenates aliique *qui* accolae eius erant primitias frugum eo donaque alia pro copia portantes multo auro argentoque id exornatum habebant. Iis omnibus donis tum spoliatum templum. Aeris acervi, cum rudera milites religione inducti iacerent, post profectionem Hannibalis magni inventi. Huius populatio templi haud dubia inter scriptores est. Coelius Romam euntem ab Ereto devertisse eo Hannibalem tradit iterque eius ab Reate Cutiliisque et ab Amiterno oriditur; ex Campania in Samnium, inde in Paelignos pervenisse praeterque oppidum Sulmonem in Marrucinos transisse, inde Albensi agro in Marsos, hinc Amiternum Forulosque vicum venisse. Neque ibi error est, quod tanti *ducis tanti*que exercitus vestigia intra tam brevis aevi memoriam potuerint confundi — isse enim ea constat —, tantum id interest, veneritne eo itinere ad urbem, an ab urbe in Campaniam redierit.

The capture of New Carthage.

Hac oratione accensis militum animis, relicto ad praesidium regionis eius M. Silano cum tribus milibus peditum et trecentis equitibus, ceteras omnes copias — erant autem viginti quinque milia peditum, duo milia quingenti equites — Hiberum traiecit. Ibi quibusdam suadentibus ut, quoniam in tris tam diversas regiones discessissent Punici exercitus, proximum adgrederetur, periculum esse ratus ne eo facto in unum omnes contraheret nec par esset unus tot exercitibus, Carthaginem Novam interim oppugnare statuit, urbem cum ipsam opulentam suis opibus, tum hostium omni bellico apparatu plenam — ibi arma, ibi pecunia, ibi totius Hispaniae obsides erant —, sitam praeterea cum opportune ad traiciendum in Africam, tum super portum satis amplum quantaevis classi et nescio an unum in Hispaniae ora qua nostro adiacet mari. Nemo omnium quo iretur sciebat praeter C. Laelium. Is classe circummissus ita moderari cursum navium iussus erat ut eodem tempore Scipio ab terra exercitum ostenderet et classis portum intraret. Septimo die ab Hibero Carthaginem ventum est simul terra marique. Castra ab regione urbis qua in septemtrionem versa est posita; his ab tergo — nam frons natura tuta erat — duplex vallum obiectum. Etenim sita Carthago sic est: sinus est maris media fere Hispaniae ora, maxime Africo vento oppositus, *ad duo milia* et quingentos passus introrsus retractus, paulo plus *mille et ducentos* passus in latitudinem patens. Huius in ostio sinus parva insula obiecta ab alto portum ab omnibus ventis praeterquam Africo tutum facit. Ab intimo sinu paeninsula excurrit, tumulus is ipse in quo condita urbs est, ab ortu solis et a meridie cincta mari; ab occasu stagnum claudit paulum etiam ad septemtrionem fusum,

incertae altitudinis utcumque exaestuat aut deficit mare. Continenti urbem iugum ducentos fere et quinquaginta passus patens coniungit. Unde cum tam parvi operis munitio esset, non obiecit vallum imperator Romanus, seu fiduciam hosti superbe ostentans, sive ut subeunti saepe ad moenia urbis recursus pateret. Cetera quae munienda erant cum perfecisset, naves etiam in portu, velut maritimam quoque ostentans obsidionem, instruxit; circumvectusque classem cum monuisset praefectos navium ut vigilias nocturnas intenti servarent, omnia ubique primo obsessum hostem conari, regressus in castra ut consilii sui rationem quod ab urbe potissimum oppugnanda bellum orsus esset militibus ostenderet et spem potiundae cohortando faceret, contione advocata ita disseruit: "Ad urbem unam oppugnandam si quis vos adductos credit, is magis operis vestri quam emolumenti rationem exactam, milites, habet. Oppugnabitis enim vere moenia unius urbis, sed in una urbe universam ceperitis Hispaniam. Hic sunt obsides omnium nobilium regum populorumque; qui simul in potestate vestra erunt, extemplo omnia quae nunc sub Carthaginiensibus sunt in dicionem tradent; hic pecunia omnis hostium, sine qua neque illi gerere bellum possunt quippe qui mercennarios exercitus alant, et quae nobis maximo usui ad conciliandos animos barbarorum erit; hic tormenta, arma, omnis apparatus belli est qui simul et vos instruet et hostis nudabit. Potiemur praeterea cum pulcherrima opulentissimaque urbe, tum opportunissima portu egregio, unde terra marique quae belli usus poscunt suppeditentur. Quae cum magna ipsi habebimus, tum dempserimus hostibus multo maiora. Haec illis arx, hoc horreum, aerarium, armamentarium, hoc omnium rerum receptaculum est; huc rectus ex Africa cursus est; haec una inter Pyrenaeum et Gadis statio; hinc omni Hispaniae imminet Africa." . . .

Cum terra marique instrui oppugnationem videret, et ipse copias ita disponit: oppidanorum duo milia ab ea parte qua castra Romana erant opponit, quingentis militibus arcem insidit, quingentos tumulo urbis in orientem verso inponit; multitudinem aliam, quo clamor, quo subita vocasset res, intentam ad omnia occurrere iubet. Patefacta deinde porta eos quos in via ferente ad castra hostium instruxerat emittit. Romani duce ipso praecipiente parumper cessere ut propiores subsidiis in certamine ipso summittendis essent. Et primo haud impares stetere acies; subsidia deinde identidem summissa e castris non averterunt solum in fugam hostis, sed adeo effusis institerunt ut, nisi receptui cecinisset, permixti fugientibus inrupturi fuisse in urbem viderentur. Trepidatio vero non in proelio maior quam tota urbe fuit. Multae stationes pavore atque fuga desertae sunt, relictique muri, cum qua cuique erat proximum desiluissent. Quod ubi egressus Scipio in tumulum quem Mercuri vocant animadvertit multis partibus nudata defensoribus moenia esse, omnis e castris excitos ire ad oppugnandam urbem et ferre scalas iubet. Ipse trium prae se iuvenum validorum scutis oppositis — ingens enim iam vis omnis generis telorum e muris volabat — ad urbem succedit, hortatur, imperat quae in rem sunt, quod*que* plurumum ad accendendos militum animos intererat, testis spectatorque virtutis atque ignaviae cuiusque adest. Itaque in vulnera ac tela ruunt, neque illos muri neque superstantes armati arcere queunt quin certatim ascendant. Et ab navibus eodem tempore ea quae mari adluitur pars urbis oppugnari coepta est. Ceterum tumultus inde maior quam vis *ad*hiberi poterat. Dum adplicant, dum raptim exponunt scalas militesque, dum qua cuique proximum est in terram evadere properant, ipsa festinatione et certamine alii alios inpediunt.

Inter haec repleverat iam Poenus armatis muros, et vis magna ex ingenti copia congesta telorum suppeditabat. Sed neque viri nec tela nec quicquam aliud aeque quam moenia ipsa sese defendebant. Rarae enim scalae altitudini aequari poterant, et quo quaeque altiores, eo infirmiores erant. Itaque cum summus quisque evadere non posset, subirent tamen alii, onere ipso frangebantur. Quidam stantibus scalis, cum altitudo caliginem oculis offudisset, ad terram delati sunt. Et cum passim homines scalaeque ruerent et ipso successu audacia atque alacritas hostium cresceret, signum receptui datum est, quod spem non praesentis modo ab tanto certamine ac labore quietis obsessis, sed etiam in posterum dedit, scalis et corona capi urbem non posse, opera et difficilia esse et tempus datura ad ferendam opem imperatoribus suis.

Vix prior tumultus conticuerat, cum Scipio ab defessis iam vulneratisque recentis integrosque alios accipere scalas iubet *et* vi maiore adgredi urbem. Ipse, ut ei nuntiatum est aestum decedere, quod per piscatores Tarraconenses nunc levibus cumbis, nunc ubi eae siderent vadis pervagatos stagnum conpertum habebat, facilem pedibus ad murum transitum dari, eo secum armatos *quingentos* duxit. Medium ferme diei erat, et ad id quod sua sponte cedente in mare aestu trahebatur aqua, acer etiam septemtrio ortus inclinatum stagnum eodem quo aestus ferebat et adeo nudaverat vada, ut alibi umbilico tenus aqua esset, alibi genua vix superaret. Hoc cura ac ratione compertum in prodigium ac deos vertens Scipio, qui ad transitum Romanis mare verterent et stagna auferrent viasque ante numquam initas humano vestigio aperirent, Neptunum iubebat ducem itineris sequi ac medio stagno evadere ad moenia. Ab terra ingens labor succedentibus erat; nec altitudine tantum moenium

impediebantur, sed quod e *turribus pugn*antis ad ancipites utrimque ictus subiectos habebant Romanos, ut latera infestiora subeuntibus quam adversa corpora essent. At parte in alia quingentis et per stagnum facilis transitus et in murum ascensus inde fuit; nam neque opere emunitus erat, ut ubi ipsius loci ac stagni praesidio satis creditum foret, nec ulla armatorum statio aut custodia opposita intentis omnibus ad opem eo ferendam, unde periculum ostendebatur. Ubi urbem sine certamine intravere, pergunt inde quanto maximo cursu poterant ad eam portam circa quam omne contractum certamen erat. In quod adeo intenti omnium non animi solum fuere, sed etiam oculi auresque pugnantium spectantiumque et adhortantium pugnantis, ut nemo ante ab tergo senserit captam urbem, quam tela in aversos inciderunt et utrimque ancipitem hostem habebant. Tunc turbatis defensoribus metu et moenia capta, et porta intus forisque pariter refringi coepta; et mox caedendo confectis ac distractis, ne iter inpediretur, foribus armati impetum fecerunt. Magna multitudo et muros transcendebat, sed ii passim ad caedem oppidanorum versi; illa quae portam ingressa erat iusta acies cum ducibus, cum ordinibus media urbe usque in forum processit. Inde cum duobus itineribus fugientis videret hostis, alios ad tumulum in orientem versum qui tenebatur quingentorum militum praesidio, alios in arcem in quam et ipse Mago cum omnibus fere armatis qui muris pulsi fuerant refugerat, partim copiarum ad tumulum expugnandum mittit, partim ipse ad arcem ducit. Et tumulus primo impetu est captus, et Mago arcem conatus defendere, cum omnia hostium plena videret neque spem ullam esse, se arcemque et praesidium dedidit. Quoad dedita arx est, caedes tota urbe passim factae, nec ulli puberum qui obvius fuit parcebatur; tum signo dato

caedibus finis factus; ad praedam victores versi, quae ingens omnis generis fuit.

Liberorum capitum virile secus ad decem milia capta. Inde qui cives Novae Carthaginis erant dimisit, urbemque et sua omnia quae reliqua eis bellum fecerat restituit. Opifices ad duo milia hominum erant: eos publicos fore populi Romani edixit cum spe propinqua libertatis, si ad ministeria belli enixe operam navassent. Ceteram multitudinem incolarum iuvenum ac validorum servorum in classem ad supplementum remigum dedit; et auxerat navibus octo captivis classem. Extra hanc multitudinem Hispanorum obsides erant, quorum, perinde ac si sociorum liberi essent, cura habita. Captus et apparatus ingens belli: catapultae maximae formae centum viginti, minores ducentae octoginta una, ballistae maiores viginti tres, minores quinquaginta duae, scorpionum maiorum minorumque et armorum telorumque ingens numerus, signa militaria septuaginta quattuor. Et auri argentique relata ad imperatorem magna vis: paterae aureae fuerunt ducentae septuaginta sex, librae ferme omnes pondo; argenti infecti signatique decem et octo milia et trecenta pondo, vasorum argenteorum magnus numerus. Haec omnia C. Flaminio quaestori adpensa adnumerataque sunt; tritici quadringenta milia modium, hordei ducenta septuaginta. Naves onerariae sexaginta tres in portu expugnatae captaeque, quaedam cum suis oneribus, frumento, armis, aere praeterea ferroque et linteis et sparto et navali alia materia ad classem aedificandam, ut minimum omnium inter tantas opes belli captas Carthago ipsa fuerit.

Hasdrubal in Italy and the battle of the Metaurus.

De Hasdrubalis adventu in Italiam cura in dies crescebat. Massiliensium primum legati nuntiaverant eum in

Galliam transgressum, erectosque adventu eius quia magnum pondus auri attulisse diceretur ad mercede auxilia conducenda Gallorum animos. Missi deinde cum iis legati ab Roma Sex. Antistius et M. Raecius ad rem inspiciendam rettulerant misisse se cum Massiliensibus ducibus, qui per hospites eorum, principes Gallorum, omnia explorata referrent; pro comperto habere Hasdrubalem ingenti iam coacto exercitu proximo vere Alpes traiecturum, nec tum eum quicquam aliud morari, nisi quod clausae hieme Alpes essent.

Consulatum inde ineunt C. Claudius Nero et M. Livius iterum. Qui quia iam designati provincias sortiti erant, praetores sortiri iusserunt. C. Hostilio iurisdictio urbana evenit; addita et peregrina, ut tres in provincias exire possent; A. Hostilio Sardinia, C. Mamilio Sicilia, L. Porcio Galliá evenit. Summa legionum trium et viginti ita per provincias divisa: binae consulum essent, quattuor Hispania haberet, binas tres praetores, in Sicilia et Sardinia et Gallia, duas C. Terentius in Etruria, duas Q. Fulvius in Brutiis, duas Q. Claudius circa Tarentum et Sallentinos, unam C. Hostilius Tubulus Capuae; duae urbanae ut scriberentur. Primis quattuor legionibus populus tribunos creavit, in ceteras consules miserunt.

Consules diversis itineribus profecti ab urbe velut in duo pariter bella distenderant curas hominum, simul recordantium quas primus adventus Hannibalis intulisset Italiae clades, simul cum illa angeret cura quos tam propitios urbi atque imperio fore deos ut eodem tempore utrobique res publica prospere gereretur? Adhuc adversa secundis pensando rem ad id tempus extractam esse: cum in Italia ad Trasumennum et Cannas praecipitasset Romana res, prospera bella in Hispania prolapsam eam erexisse: postea, cum in

Hispania alia super aliam clades duobus egregiis ducibus amissis duos exercitus ex parte delesset, multa secunda in Italia Siciliaque gesta quassatam rem publicam excepisse; et ipsum intervallum loci, quod in ultimis terrarum oris alterum bellum gereretur, spatium dedisse ad respirandum: nunc duo bella in Italiam accepta, duo celeberrimi nominis duces circumstare urbem Romanam, et unum in locum totam periculi molem, omne onus incubuisse. Qui eorum prior vicisset, intra paucos dies castra cum altero iuncturum. Terrebat et proximus annus lugubris duorum consulum funeribus. His anxii curis homines digredientes in provincias consules prosecuti sunt. Memoriae proditum est plenum adhuc irae in civis M. Livium ad bellum proficiscentem, monenti Q. Fabio ne priusquam genus hostium cognosset temere manum consereret, respondisse ubi primum hostium agmen conspexisset pugnaturum. Cum quaereretur quae causa festinandi esset, "Aut ex hoste egregiam gloriam" inquit, "aut ex civibus victis gaudium meritum certe, etsi non honestum, capiam."

Inter haec ab Hasdrubale, postquam a Placentiae obsidione abscessit, quattuor Galli equites, duo Numidae cum litteris missi ad Hannibalem cum per medios hostes totam ferme longitudinem Italiae emensi essent, dum Metapontum cedentem Hannibalem sequuntur, incertis itineribus Tarentum delati a vagis per agros pabulatoribus Romanis ad Q. Claudium propraetorem deducuntur. Eum primo incertis inplicantes responsis, ut metus tormentorum admotus fateri vera coegit, edocuerunt litteras se ab Hasdrubale ad Hannibalem ferre. Cum iis litteris sicut erant signatis L. Verginio tribuno militum ducendi ad Claudium consulem traduntur. Quae simul turmae Samnitium praesidii causa missae. Dui ubi ad consulem pervenerunt litteraeque lectae per interpretem

sunt et ex captivis percunctatio facta, tum Claudius non id tempus esse rei publicae ratus quo consiliis ordinariis provinciae suae quisque finibus per exercitus suos cum hoste destinato ab senatu bellum gereret; audendum ac novandum aliquid inprovisum, inopinatum, quod coeptum non minorem apud cives quam hostes terrorem faceret, perpetratum in magnam laetitiam ex magno metu verteret, litteris Hasdrubalis Romam ad senatum missis simul et ipse patres conscriptos quid pararet edocet: ut, cum in Umbria se occursurum Hasdrubal fratri scribat, legionem a Capua Romam arcessant, dilectum Romae habeant, exercitum urbanum ad Narniam hosti opponant. Haec senatui scripta. Praemissi item per agrum Larinatem Marrucinum Frentanum Praetutianum, qua exercitum ducturus erat, ut omnes ex agris urbibusque commeatus paratos militi ad vescendum in viam deferrent, equos iumentaque alia producerent, ut vehiculorum fessis copia esset. Ipse de toto exercitu civium sociorumque quod roboris erat delegit, sex milia peditum, mille equites; pronuntiat occupare se in Lucanis proximam urbem Punicumque in ea praesidium velle: ut ad iter parati omnes essent. Profectus nocte flexit in Picenum.

Et consul quidem quantis maximis itineribus poterat ad conlegam ducebat relicto Q. Catio legato, qui castris praeesset.

Tessera per castra ab Livio consule data erat ut tribunus tribunum, centurio centurionem, eques equitem, pedes peditem acciperet: neque enim dilatari castra opus esse, ne hostis adventum alterius consulis sentiret; et coartatio plurium in angusto tendentium facilior futura erat, quod Claudianus exercitus nihil ferme praeter arma secum in expeditionem tulerat. Ceterum in ipso itinere auctum voluntariis agmen erat, offerentibus ultro sese et veteribus militibus perfunctis iam militia et iuvenibus, quos certatim nomina dantes si

quorum corporis species roburque virium aptum militiae videbatur conscripserat. Ad Senam castra alterius consulis erant, et quingentos ferme inde passus Hasdrubal aberat. Itaque cum iam adpropinquaret, tectus montibus substitit Nero, ne ante noctem castra ingrederetur. Silentio ingressi, ab sui quisque ordinis hominibus in tentoria abducti, cum summa omnium laetitia hospitaliter excipiuntur. Postero die consilium habitum, cui et L. Porcius Licinus praetor adfuit. Castra iuncta consulum castris habebat, et ante adventum eorum per loca alta ducendo exercitum, cum modo insideret angustos saltus ut transitum clauderet, modo ab latere aut ab tergo carperet agmen, ludificatus hostem omnibus artibus belli fuerat; is tum in consilio aderat. Multorum eo inclinabant sententiae ut, dum fessum via ac vigiliis reficeret militem Nero, simul et ad noscendum hostem paucos sibi sumeret dies, tempus pugnae differretur; Nero non suadere modo sed summa ope orare institit, ne consilium suum, quod tutum celeritas fecisset, temerarium morando facerent: errore qui non diuturnus futurus esset, velut torpentem Hannibalem nec castra sua sine duce relicta adgredi nec ad sequendum se iter intendisse. Antequam se moveat, deleri exercitum Hasdrubalis posse redirique in Apuliam. Qui prolatando spatium hosti det, eum et illa castra prodere Hannibali et aperire in Galliam iter, ut per otium ubi velit Hasdrubali coniungatur. Extemplo signum dandum et exeundum in aciem abutendumque errore hostium absentium praesentiumque, dum neque illi sciant cum pauci oribus nec hi cum pluribus et validioribus rem esse. Consilio dimisso signum pugnae proponitur, confestimque in aciem procedunt.

Iam hostes ante castra instructi stabant. Moram pugnae attulit, quod Hasdrubal provectus ante signa cum paucis

equitibus scuta vetera hostium notavit, quae ante non viderat, et strigosiores equos; multitudo quoque maior solita visa est. Suspicatus enim id quod erat, receptui propere cecinit ac misit ad flumen unde aquabantur, ubi et excipi aliqui possent et notari oculis si qui forte adustioris coloris ut ex recenti via essent; simul circumvehi procul castra iubet specularique num auctum aliqua parte sit vallum, et ut attendant semel bisne signum canat in castris. Ea cum ordine omnia relata essent, castra nihil aucta errorem faciebant: bina erant, sicut ante adventum consulis alterius fuerant, una M. Livii, altera L. Porci, neutris quicquam quo latius tenderetur ad munimenta adiectum. Illud veterem ducem adsuetumque Romano hosti movit, quod semel in praetoriis castris signum, bis in consularibus referebant cecinisse. Duos profecto consules esse; et quonam modo alter ab Hannibale abscessisset, cura angebat. Minime id quod erat suspicari poterat, tantae rei frustratione Hannibalem elusum ut, ubi dux, ubi exercitus esset cum quo castra conlata haberet, ignoraret; profecto haud mediocri clade absterritum insequi non ausum; magno opere vereri, ne perditis rebus serum ipse auxilium venisset Romanisque eadem iam fortuna in Italia quae in Hispania esset. Interdum litteras suas ad eum non pervenisse credere, interceptisque iis consulem ad sese opprimendum adcelerasse. His anxius curis extinctis ignibus vigilia prima dato signo, ut taciti vasa colligerent, signa ferri iussit. In trepidatione et nocturno tumultu duces parum intente adservati, alter in destinatis iam ante animo latebris subsedit, alter per vada nota Metaurum flumen tranavit. Ita desertum ab ducibus agmen primo per agros palatur, fessique aliquot *itinere* ac vigiliis sternunt somno corpora passim atque infrequentia relinquunt signa. Hasdrubal, dum lux viam ostenderet,

ripa fluminis signa ferri iubet, et per tortuosi amnis sinus flexusque cum *iter* errore revolvens haud multum processisset, ubi prima lux transitum opportunum ostendisset, transiturus erat. Sed cum quantum a mari abscedebat, tanto altioribus coercentibus amnem ripis non inveniret vada, diem terendo spatium dedit ad insequendum sese hosti.

Nero primum cum omni equitatu advenit, Porcius deinde adsecutus cum levi armatura. Qui cum fessum agmen carperent ab omni parte incursarentque, et iam omisso itinere quod fugae simile erat castra metari Poenus in tumulo super fluminis ripam vellet, advenit Livius peditum omnibus copiis non itineris modo, sed ad conserendum extemplo proelium instructis armatisque. Sed ubi omnes copias coniunxerunt, derectaque acies est, Claudius dextro in cornu, Livius ab sinistro pugnam instruit, media acies praetori tuenda data. Hasdrubal omissa munitione castrorum postquam pugnandum vidit, in prima acie ante signa elephantos locat, circa eos laevo in cornu adversus Claudium Gallos opponit, haud tantum iis fidens quantum ab hoste timeri eos credebat; ipse dextrum cornu adversus M. Livium sibi atque Hispanis — et ibi maxime in vetere milite spem habebat — sumpsit; Ligures in medio post elephantos positi. Sed longior quam latior acies erat; Gallos prominens collis tegebat. Ea frons, quam Hispani tenebant, cum sinistro Romanorum cornu concurrit; dextra omnis acies extra proelium eminens cessabat; collis oppositus arcebat, ne aut a fronte aut ab latere adgrederentur. Inter Livium Hasdrubalemque ingens contractum certamen erat, atroxque caedes utrimque edebatur. Ibi duces ambo, ibi pars maior peditum equitumque Romanorum, ibi Hispani, vetus miles peritusque Romanae pugnae, et Ligures, durum in armis genus. Eodem versi elephanti, qui primo impetu turbaverant

antesignanos et iam signa moverant loco; deinde crescente certamine et clamore inpotentius iam regi et inter duas acies versari, velut incerti quorum essent, haud dissimiliter navibus sine gubernaculo vagis. Claudius "quid ergo praecipiti cursu tam longum iter emensi sumus"? clamitans militibus, cum in adversum collem frustra signa erigere conatus esset, postquam ea regione penetrari ad hostem non videbat posse, cohortes aliquot subductas e dextro cornu ubi stationem magis segnem quam pugnam futuram cernebat, post aciem circumducit et non hostibus modo sed etiam suis inopinantibus in dextrum hostium latus incurrit; tantaque celeritas fuit ut, cum ostendissent se ab latere, mox in terga iam pugnarent. Ita ex omnibus partibus, ab fronte, ab latere, ab tergo, trucidantur Hispani Liguresque, et ad Gallos iam caedes pervenerat. Ibi minimum certaminis fuit: nam et pars magna ab signis aberant, nocte dilapsi stratique somno passim per agros, et qui aderant, itinere ac vigiliis fessi, intolerantissima laboris corpora, vix arma umeris gestabant; et iam diei medium erat, sitisque et calor hiantes caedendos capiendosque adfatim praebebat. Elephanti plures ab ipsis rectoribus quam ab hoste interfecti. Fabrile scalprum cum malleo habebant; id, ubi saevire beluae ac ruere in suos coeperant, magister inter aures positum, ipso in articulo quo iungitur capiti cervix, quanto maximo poterat ictu adigebat. Ea celerrima via mortis in tantae molis belua inventa erat ubi regentis imperium sprevissent, primusque id Hasdrubal instituerat, dux cum saepe alias memorabilis, tum illa praecipue pugna. Ille pugnantes hortando pariterque obeundo pericula sustinuit, ille fessos abnuentesque taedio et labore nunc precando nunc castigando accendit; ille fugientes revocavit omissamque pugnam aliquot locis restituit; postremo cum haud dubie fortuna hostium esset, ne superstes

tanto exercitui suum nomen secuto esset, concitato equo se in cohortem Romanam inmisit. Ibi, ut patre Hamilcare et Hannibale fratre dignum erat, pugnans cecidit.

Numquam eo bello una acie tantum hostium interfectum est, redditaque aequa Cannensi clades vel ducis vel exercitus interitu videbatur. Quinquaginta sex milia hostium occisa, capta quinque milia et quadringenti; magna praeda alia cum omnis generis, tum auri etiam argentique. Civium etiam Romanorum, qui capti apud hostes erant, supra quattuor milia capitum recepta. Id solacii fuit pro amissis eo proelio militibus. Nam haudquaquam incruenta victoria fuit: octo ferme milia Romanorum sociorumque occisa; adeoque etiam victores sanguinis caedisque ceperat satietas ut postero die, cum esset nuntiatum Livio consuli Gallos Cisalpinos Liguresque qui aut proelio non adfuissent aut inter caedem effugissent uno agmine abire sine certo duce, sine signis, sine ordine ullo aut imperio; si una equitum ala mittatur, posse omnes deleri: "Supersint" inquit, "aliqui nuntii et hostium cladis et nostrae virtutis."

C. Claudius consul cum in castra redisset, caput Hasdrubalis quod servatum cum cura attulerat proici ante hostium stationes, captivosque Afros vinctos ut erant ostendi, duos etiam ex iis solutos ire ad Hannibalem et expromere quae acta essent, iussit. Hannibal, tanto simul publico familiarique ictus luctu, agnoscere se fortunam Carthaginis fertur dixisse; castrisque inde motis, ut omnia auxilia quae diffusa latius tueri non poterat in extremum Italiae angulum Bruttios contraheret, et Metapontinos, civitatem universam, excitos sedibus suis, et Lucanorum qui suae dicionis erant in Bruttium agrum traduxit.

The meeting of Scipio, Syphax, and Hasdrubal.

L. Scipio cum multis nobilibus captivis nuntius receptae Hispaniae Romam est missus; et cum ceteri laetitia gloriaque ingenti eam rem vulgo ferrent, unus qui gesserat, inexplebilis virtutis veraeque laudis, parvum instar eorum quae spe ac magnitudine animi concepisset receptas Hispanias ducebat: iam Africam magnamque Carthaginem et in suum decus nomenque velut consummatam eius belli gloriam spectabat. Itaque praemoliendas sibi ratus iam res conciliandosque regum gentiumque animos, Syphacem primum regem statuit temptare. Masaesuliorum is rex erat: Masaesulii, gens adfinis Mauris, in regionem Hispaniae maxime qua sita Nova Carthago est spectant. Foedus ea tempestate regi cum Carthaginiensibus erat; quod haud gravius ei sanctiusque quam vulgo barbaris, quibus ex fortuna pendet fides, ratus fore, oratorem ad eum C. Laelium cum donis mittit. Quibus barbarus laetus, et quia res tum prosperae ubique Romanis, Poenis in Italia adversae, in Hispania nullae iam erant, amicitiam se Romanorum accipere annuit: firmandae eius fidem nec dare nec accipere nisi cum ipso coram duce Romano. Ita Laelius, in id modo fide ab rege accepta tutum adventum fore, ad Scipionem redit. Magnum in omnia momentum Syphax adfectanti res Africae erat, opulentissimus eius terrae rex, bello iam expertus ipsos Carthaginienses, finibus etiam regni apte ad Hispaniam quod freto exiguo dirimuntur positis. Dignam itaque rem Scipio ratus quae, quoniam aliter non posset, magno periculo peteretur, L. Marcio Tarracone, M. Silano Carthagine Nova, quo pedibus ab Tarracone itineribus magnis ierat, ad praesidium Hispaniae relictis, ipse cum C. Laelio duabus quinqueremibus ab Carthagine profectus tranquillo mari

plurumum remis, interdum et leni adiuvante vento in Africam traiecit. Forte ita incidit ut eo ipso tempore Hasdrubal pulsus Hispania, septem triremibus portum invectus, ancoris positis terrae adplicaret naves, cum conspectae duae quinqueremes, haud cuiquam dubio quin hostium essent opprimique a pluribus priusquam portum intrarent possent, nihil aliud quam tumultum ac trepidationem simul militum ac nautarum nequiquam armaque et naves expedientium fecerunt. Percussa enim ex alto vela paulo acriori vento prius in portum intulerunt quinqueremes, quam Poeni ancoras molirentur; nec ultra tumultum ciere quisquam in regio portu audebat. Ita in terram prior Hasdrubal, mox Scipio et Laelius egressi ad regem pergunt. Magnificumque id Syphaci — nec erat aliter — visum, duorum opulentissimorum ea tempestate duces populorum uno die suam pacem amicitiamque petentes venisse. Utrumque in hospitium invitat; et quoniam fors eos sub uno tecto esse atque ad eosdem penates voluisset, contrahere ad conloquium dirimendarum simultatium causa est conatus, Scipione abnuente aut privatim sibi ullum cum Poeno odium esse quod conloquendo finiret, aut de re publica se quicquam cum hoste agere iniussu senatus posse. Illud magno opere tendente rege ne alter hospitum exclusus mensa videretur, ut in animum induceret ad easdem venire epulas haud abnuit; cenatumque simul apud regem est et eodem etiam lecto Scipio atque Hasdrubal, quia ita cordi erat regi, accubuerunt. Tanta autem inerat comitas Scipioni atque ad omnia naturalis ingenii dexteritas, ut non Syphacem modo, barbarum insuetumque moribus Romanis, sed hostem etiam infestissimum facunde adloquendo sibi conciliarit: mirabilioremque sibi eum virum congresso coram visum prae se ferebat quam bello rebus gestis, nec dubitare quin Syphax regnumque

eius iam in Romanorum essent potestate: eam artem illi viro ad conciliandos animos esse. Itaque non quo modo Hispaniae amissae sint quaerendum magis Carthaginiensibus esse, quam quo modo Africam retineant cogitandum. Non peregrinabundum neque circa amoenas oras vagantem tantum ducem Romanum relicta provincia novae dicionis, relictis exercitibus, duabus navibus in Africam traiecisse et commisisse sese in hostilem terram, in potestatem regiam, in fidem inexpertam, sed potiundae Africae spem adfectantem. Hoc eum iam pridem volutare in animo, hoc palam fremere, quod non quem ad modum Hannibal in Italia, sic Scipio in Africa bellum gereret. Scipio foedere icto cum Syphace profectus ex Africa dubiisque et plerumque saevis in alto iactatus ventis die quarto Novae Carthaginis portum tenuit.

Introduction of the worship of the "Magna Mater."

Civitatem eo tempore repens religio invaserat invento carmine in libris Sibyllinis propter crebrius eo anno de caelo lapidatum inspectis, quandoque hostis alienigena terrae Italiae bellum intulisset, eum pelli Italia vincique posse, si mater Idaea a Pessinunte Romam advecta foret. Id carmen ab decemviris inventum eo magis patres movit, quod et legati, qui donum Delphos portaverant, referebant et sacrificantibus ipsis Pythio Apollini laeta exta fuisse et responsum oraculo editum, maiorem multo victoriam quam cuius ex spoliis dona portarent adesse populo Romano. In eiusdem spei summam conferebant P. Scipionis velut praesagientem animum de fine belli, quod depoposcisset provinciam Africam. Itaque, quo maturius fatis, omnibus oraculisque portendentis sese victoriae compotes fierent, id cogitare atque agitare quae ratio transportandae Romam deae esset.

Quamquam nondum aperte Africa provincia decreta erat, occultantibus id, credo, patribus ne praesciscerent Carthaginienses, tamen in eam spem erecta civitas erat in Africa eo anno bellatum iri finemque bello Punico adesse. Impleverat ea res superstitionum animos, pronique et ad nuntianda et ad credenda prodigia erant. Eo plura vulgabantur: duos soles visos, et nocte interluxisse, et facem Setiae ab ortu solis ad occidentem porrigi visam; Tarracinae portam, Anagniae et portam et multis locis murum de caelo tactum; in aede Iunonis Sospitae Lanuvi cum horrendo fragore strepitum editum. Eorum procurandorum causa diem unum supplicatio fuit; et novendiale sacrum, quod de caelo lapidatum esset, factum. Eo accessit consultatio de matre Idaea accipienda, quam praeterquam quod M. Valerius, unus ex legatis, praegressus actutum in Italia fore nuntiaverat, recens nuntius aderat Tarracinae iam esse. Haud parvae rei iudicium senatum tenebat, qui vir optimus in civitate esset; veram certe victoriam eius rei sibi quisque mallet quam ulla imperia honoresve suffragio seu patrum seu plebis delatos. P. Scipionem Cn. f. eius qui in Hispania ceciderat, adulescentem nondum quaestorium, iudicaverunt in tota civitate virum bonorum optimum esse. Id quibus virtutibus inducti ita iudicarint, sicut traditum a proximis memoriae temporum illorum scriptoribus libens posteris traderem, ita meas opiniones coniectando rem vetustate obrutam non interponam. P. Cornelius cum omnibus matronis Ostiam obviam ire deae iussus, isque eam de nave accipere et in terram elatam tradere ferendam matronis. Postquam navis ad ostium amnis Tiberini accessit, sicut erat iussus, in salum nave evectus ab sacerdotibus deam accepit extulitque in terram. Matronae primores civitatis, inter quas unius Claudiae Quintae insigne est nomen, accepere; cui dubia,

ut traditur, antea fama clariorem ad posteros tam religioso ministerio pudicitiam fecit. Eae per manus succedentes deinde aliae aliis, omni obviam effusa civitate, turibulis ante ianuas positis qua praeferebatur atque accenso ture, precantes ut volens propitiaque urbem Romanam iniret, in aedem Victoriae quae est in Palatio pertulere deam pr. non. Apr., isque dies festus fuit. Populus frequens dona deae in Palatium tulit, lectisterniumque et ludi fuere, Megalensia appellata.

Hannibal, fearing that his countrymen will deliver him to the Romans, flees to Antiochus, King of Syria.

His litteris lectis minus terroris ab Hispanis erat, unde ingens bellum expectatum fuerat; omnes curae, utique post adventum decem legatorum, in Antiochum regem conversae. Hi, expositis prius quae cum Philippo acta essent et quibus legibus data pax, non minorem belli molem instare ab Antiocho docuerunt: ingenti classe, egregio terrestri exercitu in Europam eum traiecisse et, nisi avertisset vana spes ex vaniore rumore orta Aegypti invadendae, mox bello Graeciam arsuram fuisse; neque enim ne Aetolos quidem quieturos, cum ingenio inquietam tum iratam Romanis gentem. Haerere et aliud in visceribus Graeciae ingens malum, Nabim, nunc Lacedaemoniorum, mox si liceat universae Graeciae futurum tyrannum, avaritia et crudelitate omnis fama celebratos tyrannos aequantem; cui si Argos velut arcem Peloponneso inpositam tenere liceat, deportatis in Italiam Romanis exercitibus nequiquam liberatam a Philippo Graeciam fore, pro rege, si nihil aliud, longinquo vicinum tyrannum dominum habituram. Haec cum ab tam gravibus auctoribus qui omnia per se ipsos explorata adferrent audirentur, maior res, quod ad Antiochum attineret,

maturanda magis quoniam rex quacumque de causa in Syriam concessisset, de tyranno consultatio visa est. Cum diu disceptatum esset, utrum satis iam causae videretur cur decerneretur bellum, an permitterent T. Quinctio, quod ad Nabim Lacedaemonium attineret, faceret quod e re publica censeret esse, permiserunt, eam rem esse rati quae maturata dilatave non ita magni momenti ad summam rem publicam esset; magis id animadvertendum esse, quid Hannibal et Carthaginienses, si cum Antiocho bellum motum foret, acturi essent.

Adversae Hannibali factionis homines principibus Romanis, hospitibus quisque suis, identidem scribebant nuntios litterasque ab Hannibale ad Antiochum missas, et ab rege ad eum clam legatos venisse; ut feras quasdam nulla mitescere arte, sic inmitem et inplacabilem eius viri animum esse; marcescere otii situ queri civitatem et inertia sopiri nec sine armorum sonitu excitari posse. Haec probabilia memoria prioris belli per unum illum non magis gesti quam moti faciebat. Irritaverat etiam recenti facto multorum potentium animos. Iudicum ordo Carthagine ea tempestate dominabatur, eo maxime quod iidem perpetui iudices erant. Res, fama vitaque omnium in illorum potestate erat. Qui unum eius ordinis offendisset, omnis adversos habebat, nec accusator apud infensos iudices deerat. Horum in tam inpotenti regno — neque enim civiliter nimiis opibus utebantur — praetor factus Hannibal vocari ad se quaestorem iussit. Quaestor id pro nihilo habuit; nam et adversae factionis erat et, quia ex quaestura in iudices, potentissimum ordinem, referebatur, iam pro futuris mox opibus animos gerebat. Enimvero indignum id ratus Hannibal viatorem ad prendendum quaestorem misit subductumque in contionem non ipsum magis quam ordinem iudicum, prae

quorum superbia atque opibus nec leges quicquam essent nec magistratus, accusavit. Et ut secundis auribus accipi orationem animadvertit et infimorum quoque libertati gravem esse superbiam eorum, legem extemplo promulgavit pertulitque, ut in singulos annos iudices legerentur, neu quis biennium continuum iudex esset. Ceterum quantam eo facto ad plebem inierat gratiam, tantum magnae partis principum offenderat animos. Adiecit et aliud, quo bono publico sibi proprias simultates irritavit. Vectigalia publica partim neglegentia dilabebantur, partim praedae ac divisui et principum quibusdam et magistratibus erant, et pecunia quae in stipendium Romanis suo quoque anno penderetur deerat, tributumque grave privatis inminere videbatur. Hannibal postquam vectigalia quanta terrestria maritimaque essent et in quas res erogarentur animadvertit, et quid eorum ordinarii rei publicae usus consumerent, quantum peculatus averteret, omnibus residuis pecuniis exactis, tributo privatis remisso satis locupletem rem publicam fore ad vectigal praestandum Romanis pronuntiavit in contione et praestitit promissum.

Tum vero ii quos paverat per aliquot annos publicus peculatus, velut bonis ereptis non furtorum manubiis extortis infensi et irati Romanos in Hannibalem, et ipsos causam odii quaerentis, instigabant. Ita diu repugnante P. Scipione Africano, qui parum ex dignitate populi Romani esse ducebat subscribere odiis accusatorum Hannibalis et factionibus Carthaginiensium inserere publicam auctoritatem nec satis habere bello vicisse Hannibalem, nisi velut accusatores calumniam in eum iurarent ac nomen deferrent, tandem pervicerunt, ut legati Carthaginem mitterentur qui ad senatum eorum arguerent Hannibalem cum Antiocho rege consilia belli faciendi inire. Legati tres missi, Cn. Servilius, M. Claudius Marcellus, Q. Terentius Culleo.

Qui cum Carthaginem venissent, ex consilio inimicorum Hannibalis quaerentibus causam adventus dici iusserunt, venisse se ad controversias, quae cum Masinissa rege Numidarum Carthaginiensibus essent, dirimendas. Id creditum vulgo; unum Hannibalem se peti ab Romanis non fallebat et ita pacem Carthaginiensibus datam esse, ut inexpiabile bellum adversus se unum maneret. Itaque cedere tempori et fortunae statuit; et praeparatis iam ante omnibus ad fugam, obversatus eo die in foro avertendae suspicionis causa, primis tenebris vestitu forensi ad portam cum duobus comitibus ignaris consilii est egressus. Cum equi, quo in loco iusserat, praesto fuissent, nocte Byzacium — ita regionem quandam agri vocant — transgressus, postero die ad mare inter Acyllam et Thapsum ad suam turrem pervenit. Ibi eum parata instructaque remigio excepit navis. Ita Africa Hannibal excessit, saepius patriae quam suum eventum miseratus. Eodem die in Cercinam insulam traiecit. Ubi cum in portu naves aliquot Phoenicum onerarias cum mercibus invenisset et ad egressum eum e nave concursus salutantium esset factus, percunctantibus legatum se Tyrum missum dici iussit. Veritus tamen, ne qua earum navis nocte profecta Thapsum aut Hadrumetum nuntiaret se Cercinae visum, sacrificio apparari iusso magistros navium mercatoresque invitari iussit et vela cum antemnis ex navibus conrogari, ut umbraclum — midia aestas forte erat — cenantibus in litore fieret. Quanto res et tempus patiebatur apparatu celebratae eius diei epulae sunt; multoque vino in serum noctis convivium productum. Hannibal, cum primum fallendi eos qui in portu erant tempus habuit, navem solvit. Ceteri sopiti cum postero die tandem ex somno pleni crapulae surrexissent, ad id quod serum erat, aliquot horas referendis in naves collocandis*que* et aptandis armamentis absumpserunt.

Carthagine [et] multitudinis adsuetae domum Hannibalis frequentare concursus ad vestibulum aedium est factus. Ut non comparere eum vulgatum est, in forum turba convenit principem civitatis quaerentium; et alii fugam conscisse, id quod erat, alii fraude Romanorum interfectum, idque magis vulgo fremebant, variosque vultus cerneres ut in civitate aliorum alias partes foventium et factionibus discordi; visum deinde Cercinae eum tandem allatum est. Et Romani legati cum in senatu exposuissent compertum patribus Romanis esse, et Philippum regem ante ab Hannibale maxime accensum bellum populo Romano fecisse, et nunc litteras nuntiosque ab eo ad Antiochum et Aetolos missos, consiliaque inita inpellendae ad defectionem Carthaginis, nec alio eum quam ad Antiochum regem profectum; haud quieturum eum, antequam bellum toto orbe terrarum concisset; id ei non debere impune esse, si satisfacere Carthaginienses populo Romano vellent nihil eorum sua voluntate nec publico consilio factum esse: Carthaginienses responderunt, quidquid aecum censuissent Romani, facturos esse.

Hannibal prospero cursu Tyrum pervenit exceptusque a conditoribus Carthaginis, ut ab altera patria, vir tam clarus omni genere honorum, paucos moratus dies Antiochiam navigat. Ibi profectum iam regem in Asiam cum audisset filiumque eius sollemne ludorum ad Daphnen celebrantem convenisset, comiter ab eo exceptus nullam moram navigandi fecit. Ephesi regem est consecutus, fluctuantem adhuc animo incertumque de Romano bello; sed haud parvum momentum ad animum eius moliendum adventus Hannibalis fecit. Aetolorum quoque eodem tempore alienati ab societate Romana animi sunt, quorum legatos Pharsalum et Leucadem et quasdam alias civitates ex primo foedere repetentis senatus ad T. Quinctium reiecit.

Scipio and Hannibal at the court of Antiochus.

Claudius, secutus Graecos Acilianos libros, P. Africanum in ea fuisse legatione tradit eumque Ephesi collocutum cum Hannibale, et sermonem unum etiam refert: quaerenti Africano, quem fuisse maximum imperatorem Hannibal crederet, respondisse Alexandrum Macedonum regem, quod parva manu innumerabiles exercitus fudisset quodque ultimas oras, quas visere supra spem humanam esset, peragrasset. Quaerenti deinde, quem secundum poneret, Pyrrhum dixisse; castra metari primum docuisse; ad hoc neminem elegantius loca cepisse, praesidia disposuisse; artem etiam conciliandi sibi homines eam habuisse, ut Italicae gentes regis externi quam populi Romani, tam diu principis in ea terra, imperium esse mallent. Exsequenti, quem tertium duceret, haud dubie semet ipsum dixisse. Tum risum obortum Scipioni, et subiecisse "Quidnam tu diceres, si me vicisses?" "Tum vero me" inquit, "et ante Alexandrum et ante Pyrrhum et ante alios omnes imperatores esse." Et perplexum Punico astu responsum et improvisum adsentationis genus Scipionem movisse, quod e grege se imperatorem velut inaestimabilem secrevisset.

Character and censorship of Cato Major.

His comitiis prudentia et virtute senatus sublatis, alia maioris certaminis, quo et maiore de re et inter plures potentioresque viros, sunt exorta. Censuram summa contentione petebant L. Valerius Flaccus P. et L. Scipiones Cn. Manlius Vulso L. Furius Purpurio patricii, plebeii autem M. Porcius Cato M. Fulvius Nobilior Ti. et M. Sempronii, Longus et Tuditanus. Sed omnes patricios plebeiosque nobilissimarum familiarum M. Porcius longe anteibat.

In hoc viro tanta vis animi ingeniique fuit ut, quocumque loco natus esset, fortunam sibi ipse facturus fuisse videretur. Nulla ars neque privatae neque publicae rei gerendae ei defuit: urbanas rusticasque res pariter callebat. Ad summos honores alios scientia iuris, alios eloquentia, alios gloria militaris provexit: huic versatile ingenium sic pariter ad omnia fuit, ut natum ad id unum diceres quodcumque ageret: in bello manu fortissimus multisque in signibus clarus pugnis; idem postquam ad magnos honores pervenit, summus imperator; idem in pace, si ius consuleres, peritissimus, si causa oranda esset, eloquentissimus, nec is tantum cuius lingua vivo eo viguerit, monumentum eloquentiae nullum exstet: vivit immo vigetque eloquentia eius sacrata scriptis omnis generis. Orationes et pro se multae et pro aliis et in alios: nam non solum accusando sed etiam causam dicendo fatigavit inimicos. Simultates nimio plures et exercuerunt eum et ipse exercuit eas; nec facile dixeris, utrum magis presserit eum nobilitas, an ille agitaverit nobilitatem. Asperi procul dubio animi et linguae acerbae et immodice liberae fuit, sed invicti a cupiditatibus animi et rigidae innocentiae, contemptor gratiae, divitiarum. In parsimonia, in patientia laboris periculi ferrei prope corporis animique, quem ne senectus quidem quae solvit omnia fregerit, qui sextum et octogesimum annum agens causam dixerit, ipse pro se oraverit scripseritque, nonagesimo anno Ser. Galbam ad populi adduxerit iudicium. Hunc, sicut omni vita, tum prensantem premebat nobilitas; coierantque praeter L. Flaccum qui collega in consulatu fuerat, candidati omnes ad deiciendum honore eum, non solum ut ipsi potius adipiscerentur, nec quia indignabantur novum hominem censorem videre, sed etiam quod tristem censuram periculosamque multorum famae et ab laeso a plerisque et laedendi cupido

exspectabant. Etenim tum quoque minitabundus petebat, refragari sibi qui liberam et fortem censuram timerent criminando. Et simul L. Valerio suffragabatur: illo uno collega castigare se nova flagitia et priscos revocare mores posse. His accensi homines, adversa nobilitate, non M. Porcium modo censorem fecerunt, sed collegam ei L. Valerium Flaccum adiecerunt.

Secundum comitia censorum consules praetoresque in provincias profecti praeter Q. Naevium, quem quattuor non minus menses priusquam in Sardiniam iret, quaestiones veneficii, quarum magnam partem extra urbem per municipia conciliabulaque habuit quia ita aptius visum erat, tenuerunt. Si Antiati Valerio credere libet, ad duo hominum milia damnavit. Et L. Postumius propraetor, cui Tarentum provincia evenerat, magnas pastorum coniurationes vindicavit, et reliquias Bacchanalium quaestionis cum omni exsecutus est cura. Multos qui aut citati non adfuerant aut vades deseruerant, in ea regione Italiae latentes partim noxios iudicavit, partim comprehensos Romam ad senatum misit. In carcerem omnes a P. Cornelio coniecti sunt.

In Hispania ulteriore fractis proximo bello Lusitanis quietae res fuerant: in citeriore A. Terentius in Suessetanis oppidum Corbionem vineis et operibus expugnavit, captivos vendidit: quieta deinde hiberna et citerior provincia habuit. Veteres praetores C. Calpurnius Piso et L. Quinctius Romam redierunt. Utrique magno patrum consensu triumphus est decretus. Prior C. Calpurnius de Lusitanis et Celtiberis triumphavit: coronas aureas tulit octoginta tres et duodecim milia pondo argenti. Paucos post dies L. Quinctius Crispinus ex iisdem Lusitanis Celtiberisque triumphavit: tantundem auri atque argenti in eo triumpho praelatum.

Censores M. Porcius et L. Valerius metu mixta exspectatione senatum legerunt; septem moverunt senatu, ex quibus unum insignem et nobilitate et honoribus, L. Quinctium Flamininum consularem. Patrum memoria institutum fertur, ut censores motis senatu adscriberent notas. Catonis et aliae quidem acerbae orationes exstant in eos quos aut senatorio loco movit aut quibus equos ademit: longe gravissima in L. Quinctium oratio est, qua si accusator ante notam, non censor post notam usus esset, retinere L. Quinctium in senatu ne frater quidem T. Quinctius, si tum censor esset, potuisset. Inter cetera obiecit ei Philippum Poenum, carum ac nobile scortum, ab Roma in Galliam provinciam spe ingentium donorum perductum. Eum puerum, per lasciviam cum cavillaretur, exprobrare consuli persaepe solitum, quod sub ipsum spectaculum gladiatorium abductus ab Roma esset, ut obsequium amatori iactaret. Forte epulantibus iis, cum iam vino incaluissent, nuntiatum in convivio esse nobilem Boium cum liberis transfugam venisse; convenire consulem velle, ut ab eo fidem praesens acciperet. Introductum in tabernaculum per interpretem adloqui consulem coepisse. Inter cuius sermonem Quinctius scorto "Vis tu," inquit, "quoniam gladiatorium spectaculum reliquisti, iam hunc Gallum morientem videre?" Et cum is vixdum serio adnuisset, ad nutum scorti consulem stricto gladio, qui super caput pendebat, loquenti Gallo caput primum percussisse, deinde fugienti fidemque populi Romani atque eorum qui aderant imploranti latus transfodisse. Valerius Antias, ut qui nec orationem Catonis legisset et fabulae tantum sine auctore editae credidisset, aliud argumentum, simile tamen et libidini et crudelitati peragit. Placentiae famosam mulierem, cuius amore deperiret, in convivium arcessitam scribit. Ibi iactantem sese scorto inter cetera rettulisse,

quam acriter quaestiones exercuisset, et quam multos capitis damnatos in vinculis haberet, quos securi percussurus esset. Tum illum infra eum accubantem negasse umquam vidisse quemquam securi ferientem, et pervelle id videre. Hic indulgentem amatorem unum ex illis miseris attrahi iussum securi percussisse. Facinus, sive eo modo quo censor obiecit, sive ut Valerius tradit commissum est, saevum atque atrox: inter pocula atque epulas, ubi libare diis dapes, ubi bene precari mos esset, ad spectaculum scorti procacis, in sinu consulis recubantis, mactatam humanam victimam esse et cruore mensam respersam! In extrema oratione Catonis condicio Quinctio fertur, ut si id factum negaret ceteraque quae obiecisset, sponsione defenderet sese: sin fateretur, ignominiane sua quemquam doliturum censeret, cum ipse vino et Venere amens sanguine hominis in convivio lusisset?

In equitatu recognoscendo L. Scipioni Asiageni ademptus equus. In censibus quoque accipiendis tristis et aspera in omnes ordines censura fuit. Ornamenta et vestem muliebrem et vehicula, quae pluris quam quindecim milium aeris essent *deciens pluris* in censum referre iuratores iussit; item mancipia minora annis viginti, quae post proximum lustrum decem milibus aeris aut eo pluris venissent, uti ea quoque deciens tanto pluris quam quanti essent aestimarentur, et his rebus omnibus terni in milia aeris attribuerentur. Aquam publicam omnem in privatum aedificium aut agrum fluentem ademerunt; et quae in loca publica inaedificata immolitave privati habebant, intra dies triginta demoliti sunt. Opera deinde facienda ex decreta in eam rem pecunia, lacus sternendos lapide, detergendasque qua opus esset cloacas, in Aventino et in aliis partibus qua nondum erant faciendas locaverunt. Et separatim Flaccus molem ad Neptunias aquas, ut iter populo esset, et viam per For-

mianum montem, Cato atria duo Maenium et Titium in lautumiis, et quattuor tabernas in publicum emit, basilicamque ibi fecit, quae Porcia appellata est. Et vectigalia summis pretiis, ultro tributa infimis locaverunt. Quas locationes cum senatus precibus et lacrimis publicanorum victus induci et de integro locari iussisset, censores, edicto summotis ab hasta qui ludificati priorem locationem erant, omnia eadem paulum imminutis pretiis locaverunt. Nobilis censura fuit simultatiumque plena, quae M. Porcium, cui acerbitas ea adsignabatur, per omnem vitam exercuerunt.

The Battle of Pydna. Gallus, a military tribune, predicts an eclipse of the moon.

Anni post circumactum solstitium erat, hora diei iam ad meridiem vergebat, iter multo pulvere et incalescente sole factum erat. Lassitudo et sitis iam sentiebatur, et meridiano aestu magis accessurum utrumque mox appa-rebat. Statuit sic adfectos recenti atque integro hosti non obicere: sed tantus ardor in animis ad dimicandum utrimque erat, ut consuli non minore arte ad suos eludendos quam ad hostes opus esset. Nondum omnibus instructis instabat tribunis militum, ut maturarent instruere, circumibat ipse ordines, animos militum hortando in pugnam accendebat. Ibi primo alacres signum poscebant; deinde, quantum increscceret aestus, et vultus minus vigentes et voces segniores erant, et quidam incumbentes scutis nixique pilis stabant. Tum iam aperte primis ordinibus imperat, metarentur frontem castrorum et impedimenta constituerent. Quod ubi fieri milites sensere, alii gaudere palam, quod fessos viae labore flagrantissimo aestu non coegisset pugnare. Legati circa imperatorem ducesque externi erant, inter quos et Attalus, omnes approbantes, cum pugnaturum consulem

credebant—neque enim ne his quidem cunctationem aperuerat suam: tunc mutatione consilii subita cum alii silerent, Nasica unus ex omnibus ausus est monere consulem, ne hostem ludificatum priores imperatores fugiendo certamen manibus emitteret: vereri ne nocte abeat, sequendus maximo labore ac periculo in intima Macedoniae sit illaesusque, sicut prioribus ducibus, per calles saltusque Macedonicorum montium vagando circumagatur. Se magnopere suadere, dum in campo patenti hostem habeat, adgrediatur nec oblatam occasionem vincendi amittat. Consul nihil offensus libra admonitione tam clari adolescentis "Et ego" inquit, "animum istum habui, Nasica, quem tu nunc habes; et quem ego nunc habeo, tu habebis. Multis belli casibus didici, quando pugnandum, quando abstinendum pugna sit. Non operae sit stanti nunc in acie docere quibus de causis hodie quiesse melius sit. Rationes alias reposcito: nunc auctoritate veteris imperatoris contentus eris." Conticuit adolescens: haud dubie videre aliqua impedimenta pugnae consulem, quae sibi non apparerent. Paulus postquam metata castra impedimentaque collocata animadvertit, ex postrema acie triarios primos subducit, deinde principes, stantibus in prima acie hastatis si quid hostis moveret, postremo hastatos, ab dextro primum cornu singulorum paulatim signorum milites subtrahens. Ita pedites equitibus cum levi armatura ante aciem hosti oppositis sine tumultu abducti, nec ante quam prima frons valli ac fossa perducta est, ex statione equites revocati sunt. Rex quoque cum sine detractatione paratus pugnare eo die fuisset, contentus quod per hostem moram fuisse pugnae scirent, et ipse in castra copias reduxit.

Castris permunitis C. Sulpicius Gallus tribunus militum secundae legionis, qui praetor superiore anno fuerat, consulis

permissu ad contionem militibus vocatis pronuntiavit nocte proxima, ne quis id pro portento acciperet, ab hora secunda usque ad quartam horam noctis lunam defecturam esse. Id quia naturali ordine statis temporibus fiat, et sciri ante et praedici posse. Itaque quem ad modum, quia certi solis lunaeque et ortus et occasus sint, nunc pleno orbe nunc senescentem exiguo cornu fulgere lunam non mirarentur, ita ne obscurari quidem, cum condatur umbra terrae, trahere in prodigium debere. Nocte quam pridie nonas Septembres insecuta est dies, edita hora cum luna defecisset, Romanis militibus Galli sapientia prope divina videri: Macedonas ut triste prodigium, occasum regni perniciemque gentis portendens movit; nec aliter vates. Clamor ululatusque in castris Macedonum fuit, donec luna in suam lucem emersit.

Postero die—tantus utrique ardor exercitui ad concurrendum fuerat, ut et regem et consulem suorum quidam, quod sine proelio discessum esset, accusarent— regi prompta defensio erat, non eo solum quod hostis prior, aperte pugnam detractans, in castra copias reduxisset, sed etiam quod eo loco signa constituisset quo phalanx, quam inutilem vel mediocris iniquitas loci efficeret, promoveri non posset. Consul, ad id quod pridie praetermisisse pugnandi occasionem videbatur et locum dedisse hosti si nocte abire vellet, tunc quoque per speciem immolandi terere videbatur tempus, cum luce prima signum propositum pugnae ad exeundum in aciem fuisset. Tertia demum hora sacrificio rite perpetrato ad consilium vocavit; atque ibi, quod rei gerendae tempus esset, loquendo et intempestive consultando videbatur quibusdam extrahere. Post sermones tamen consul orationem habuit. "P. Nasica, egregius adolescens, ex omnibus unus quibus hesterno die pugnari placuit, denudavit mihi suum consilium, idem postea, ita ut transisse in senten-

tiam meam videre posset, tacuit. Quibusdam aliis absentem carpere imperatorem quam praesentem monere melius visum est. Et tibi, P. Nasica, et quicumque idem quod tu occultius senserunt, non gravabor reddere dilatae pugnae rationem. Nam tantum abest ut me hesternae quietis paeniteat, ut servatum a me exercitum eo consilio credam. In qua me opinione esse ne quis sine causa vestrum credat, recognoscat agedum mecum, si videtur, quam multa pro hoste et adversus nos fuerint. Iam omnium primum, quantum numero nos praestent, neminem vestrum nec ante ignorasse, et hesterno die explicatam intuentes aciem animadvertisse certum habeo. Ex hac nostra paucitate quarta pars militum praesidio impedimentis relicta erat; nec ignavissimum quemque relinqui ad custodiam sarcinarum scitis. Sed fuerimus omnes. Parvum hoc tandem esse credimus, quod ex his castris in quibus hac nocte mansimus exituri in aciem hodierno aut summum crastino die, si ita videbitur, diis bene iuvantibus, sumus? Nihilne interest, utrum militem quem neque viae labor hodie neque operis fatigaverit, requietum, integrum in tentorio suo arma capere iubeas, atque in aciem plenum virium vigentem et corpore et animo educas, an longo itinere fatigatum et onere fessum, madentem sudore, ardentibus siti faucibus, ore atque oculis repletis pulvere, torrente meridiano sole, hosti obicias recenti, requieto, qui nulla re ante consumptas vires ad proelium adferat? Quis, pro deum fidem, ita comparatus, vel iners atque imbellis, fortissimum virum non vicerit? Quid quod hostes per summum otium instruxerant aciem, praeparaverant animos, stabant compositi suis quisque ordinibus, nobis tunc repente trepidandum in acie instruenda erat et incompositis concurrendum? At hercule aciem quidem inconditam inordinatamque habuissemus,

castra munita, provisam aquationem, tutum ad eam iter praesidiis impositis, explorata circa omnia: an nihil nostri habentes praeter nudum campum, in quo pugnaremus? Maiores vestri castra munita portum ad omnes casus exercitus ducebant esse, unde ad pugnam exirent, quo iactati tempestate pugnae receptum haberent. Ideo cum munimentis ea saepsissent, praesidio quoque valido firmabant, quod qui castris exutus erat, etiamsi pugnando acie vicisset, pro victo haberetur. Castra sunt victori receptaculum, victo perfugium. Quam multi exercitus, quibus minus prospera pugnae fortuna fuit, intra vallum compulsi, tempore suo, interdum momento post, eruptione facta victorem hostem pepulerunt? Patria altera est militaris haec sedes, vallumque pro moenibus, et tentorium suum cuique militi domus ac penates sunt. Sine ulla sede vagi dimicassemus, ut quo victores nos reciperemus? His difficultatibus et impedimentis pugnae illud opponitur. Quid si hostis hac interposita nocte abisset? Quantum rursus sequendo eo penitus in ultimam Macedoniam exhauriendum laboris erat! Ego autem neque mansurum eum neque in aciem copias educturum fuisse certum habeo, si cedere hinc statuisset. Quanto enim facilius abire fuit cum procul abessemus, quam nunc cum in cervicibus sumus? Nec falleret nos interdiu aut nocte abeundo. Quid autem est nobis optatius *quam ut* quorum castra praealta fluminis ripa tuta, vallo insuper saepta ac crebris turribus, oppugnare adorti sumus, eos relictis munimentis, agmine effuso abeuntes in patentibus campis ab tergo adoriamur? Hae dilatae pugnae ex hesterno die in hodiernum causae fuerunt. Pugnare enim et ipsi mihi placet; et ideo, quia per Enipeum amnem saepta ad hostem via erat, alio saltu, deiectis hostium praesidiis, novum iter aperui; neque priusquam debellavero absistam."

Post hanc orationem silentium fuit, partim traductis in sententiam eius, partim verentibus nequiquam offendere in eo quod utcumque praetermissum revocari non posset. Ac ne illo ipso quidem die aut consuli aut regi *pugnare placuit, regi* quod nec fessos, ut pridie, ex via neque trepidantes in acie instruenda et vixdum compositos adgressurus erat; consuli, quod in novis castris non ligna, non pabulum convectum erat, ad quae petenda ex propinquis agris magna pars militum e castris exierat. Neutro imperatorum volente fortuna, quae plus consiliis humanis pollet, contraxit certamen. Flumen erat haud magnum propius hostium castris, ex quo et Macedones et Romani aquabantur praesidiis ex utraque ripa positis, ut id facere tuto possent. Duae cohortes a parte Romanorum erant, Marrucina et Peligna, duae turmae Samnitium equitum, quibus praeerat M'. Sergius Silus legatus; et aliud pro castris stativum erat praesidium sub C. Cluvio legato, tres cohortes, Firmana Vestina Cremonensis, duae turmae equitum, Placentina et Aesernina. Cum otium ad flumen esset neutris lacessentibus, hora circiter nona iumentum e manibus curantium elapsum in ulteriorem ripam effugit. Quod cum per aquam ferme genus tenus altam tres milites sequerentur, Thraces duo id iumentum ex medio alveo in suam ripam trahentes * altero eorum occiso receptoque iumento ad stationem suorum se recipiebant. Octingentorum Thracum praesidium in hostium ripa erat. Ex his pauci primo, aegre passi popularem in suo conspectu caesum, ad persequendos interfectores fluvium transgressi sunt, dein plures, postremo omnes, et cum praesidio. . . .

. . . proelium ducit. Movebat imperii maiestas, gloria viri, ante omnia aetas, quod maior sexaginta annis iuvenum munia in parte praecipua laboris periculique capessebat.

Intervallum quod inter caetratos et phalanges erat, implevit legio, atque aciem hostium interrupit. A tergo caetratis erat, frontem adversus clipeatos habebat: chalcaspides appellabantur. Secundam legionem L. Albinus consularis ducere adversus leucaspidem phalangem iussus: ea media acies hostium fuit. In dextrum cornu, unde circa fluvium commissum proelium erat, elephantos inducit et alas sociorum; et hinc primum fuga Macedonum est orta. Nam sicut pleraque nova commenta mortalium in verbis vim habent, experiendo, cum agi, non quem ad modum agantur edisseri oportet, sine ullo effectu evanescunt, ita tum elephanti in acie nomen tantum sine usu fuerunt. Elephantorum impetum subsecuti sunt socii nominis Latini, pepuleruntque laevum cornu. In medio secunda legio immissa dissipavit phalangem. Neque ulla evidentior causa victoriae fuit, quam quod multa passim proelia erant, quae fluctuantem turbarunt primo, deinde disiecerunt phalangem, cuius confertae et intentis horrentis hastis intolerabiles vires sunt: si carptim adgrediendo circumagere immobilem longitudine et gravitate hastam cogas, confusa strue implicantur: si vero aut ab latere aut ab tergo aliquid tumultus increpuit, ruinae modo turbantur, sicut tum adversus catervatim incurrentes Romanos, et interrupta multifariam acie, obviam ire cogebantur. Et Romani, quacumque data intervalla essent, insinuabant ordines suos. Qui si universa acie in frontem adversus instructam phalangem concurrissent, quod Pelignis principio pugnae incaute congressis adversus caetratos evenit, induissent se hastis nec confertam aciem sustinuissent. Ceterum sicut peditum passim caedes fiebant, nisi qui abiectis armis fugerunt, sic equitatus prope integer pugna excessit. Princeps fugae rex ipse erat.

Antiochus quits Egypt at the command of a Roman embassy.

Postquam dies data indutiis praeteriit** navigantibus ostio Nili ad Pelusium, per deserta Arabiae** ad Memphim incolebant, et ab ceteris Aegyptiis, partim voluntate partim metu, ad Alexandream modicis itineribus descendit. Ad Eleusinem transgresso flumen, qui locus quattuor milia ab Alexandrea abest, legati Romani occurrerunt. Quos cum advenientes salutasset, dextramque Popillio porrigeret, tabellas ei Popillius senatus consultum scriptum habentes tradit atque omnium primum id legere iubet. Quibus perlectis cum se consideraturum adhibitis amicis quid faciendum sibi esset dixisset, Popillius, pro cetera asperitate animi, virga quam in manu gerebat circumscripsit regem; ac "Priusquam hoc circulo excedas" inquit, "redde responsum, senatui quod referam." Obstupefactus tam violento imperio parumper cum haesitasset, "Faciam" inquit, "quod censet senatus." Tum demum Popillius dextram regi tamquam socio atque amico porrexit. Die deinde finita cum excessisset Aegypto Antiochus, legati, concordia etiam auctoritate sua inter fratres firmata inter quos vixdum convenerat pax, Cyprum navigant, et inde, quae iam vicerat proelio Aegyptias naves, classem Antiochi dimittunt. Clara ea per gentes legatio fuit, quod haud dubie adempta Antiocho Aegyptus habenti iam redditumque patrium regnum stirpi Ptolemaei fuerat.

The triumph of Paulus and the death of his sons.

Sed non Perseus tantum per illos dies documentum humanorum casuum fuit, in catenis ante currum victoris ducis per urbem hostium ductus, sed etiam victor Paulus, auro purpuraque fulgens. Nam duobus e filiis, quos duo-

bus datis in adoptionem solos nominis sacrorum familiaeque heredes retinuerat domi, minor, ferme duodecim annos natus, quinque diebus ante triumphum, maior quattuordecim annorum triduo post triumphum decessit; quos praetextatos curru vehi cum patre, sibi ipsos similes praedestinantes triumphos, oportuerat. Paucis post diebus, data a M. Antonio tribuno plebis contione, cum de suis rebus gestis more ceterorum imperatorum disseruisset, memorabilis eius oratio et digna Romano principe fuit. "Quamquam et quanta felicitate rem publicam administraverim, et quae duo fulmina domum meam per hos dies perculerint, non ignorare vos, Quirites, arbitror, cum spectaculo vobis nunc triumphus meus, nunc funera liberorum meorum fuerint, tamen paucis quaeso sinatis me cum publica felicitate comparare eo quo debeo animo privatam meam fortunam. Profectus ex Italia classem a Brundisio sole orto solvi, nona diei hora cum omnibus meis navibus Corcyram tenui. Inde quinto die Delphis Apollini pro me exercitibusque et classibus vestris sacrificavi. A Delphis quinto die in castra perveni; ubi exercitu accepto, mutatis quibusdam quae magna impedimenta victoriae erant, progressus inde quia inexpugnabilia castra hostium erant neque cogi pugnare poterat rex, inter praesidia eius saltum ad Petram evasi, et ad pugnam rege coacto acie vici, Macedoniam in potestatem populi Romani redegi, et quod bellum per quadriennium quattuor ante me consules ita gesserunt, ut semper successori traderent gravius, id ego quindecim diebus perfeci. Aliarum deinde secundarum rerum velut proventus secutus: civitates omnes Macedoniae se dederunt; gaza regia in potestatem venit; rex ipse tradentibus prope ipsis diis in templo Samothracum cum liberis est captus. Mihi quoque ipsi nimia iam fortuna mea videri, eoque

suspecta esse. Maris pericula timere coepi in tanta pecunia regia in Italiam traicienda et victore exercitu transportando. Postquam omnia secundo navium cursu in Italiam pervenerunt, neque erat quod ultra precarer, illud obtavi, ut cum ex summo retro volvi fortuna consuesset, mutationem eius domus mea potius quam res publica sentiret. Itaque defunctam esse fortunam publicam mea tam insigni calamitate spero, quod triumphus meus, velut ad ludibrium casuum humanorum, duobus funeribus liberorum meorum est interpositus. Et cum ego et Perseus nunc nobilia maxime sortis mortalium exempla spectemur: ille, qui ante se captivos captivus ipse duci liberos vidit, incolumes tamen eos habet: ego, qui de illo triumphavi ab alterius funere filii currum** ex Capitolio prope iam exspirantem veni; neque ex tanta stirpe liberum superest qui L. Aemilii Pauli nomen ferat. Duos enim tamquam ex magna progenie liberorum in adoptionem datos Cornelia et Fabia gens habent: Pauli in domo praeter senem nemo superest. Sed hanc cladem domus meae vestra felicitas et secunda fortuna publica consolatur." Haec tanto dicta animo magis confudere audientium animos, quam si miserabiliter orbitatem suam deflendo locutus esset.

PART TWO

C. SALLUSTI CRISPI

DE CATILINAE CONIURATIONE

The character and ambitions of Lucius Catiline.

De Catilinae coniuratione quam verissume potero paucis absolvam; nam id facinus in primis ego memorabile existumo sceleris atque periculi novitate. De cuius hominis moribus pauca prius explananda sunt quam initium narrandi faciam.

L. Catilina, nobili genere natus, fuit magna vi et animi et corporis, sed ingenio malo pravoque. Huic ab adulescentia bella intestina, caedes, rapinae, discordia civilis grata fuere, ibique iuventutem suam exercuit. Corpus patiens inediae, algoris, vigiliae supra quam cuiquam credibile est. Animus audax, subdolus, varius, cuius rei lubet simulator ac dissimulator, alieni adpetens, sui profusus, ardens in cupiditatibus; satis eloquentiae, sapientiae parum; vastus animus immoderata, incredibilia, nimis alta semper cupiebat. Hunc post dominationem L. Sullae lubido maxuma invaserat rei publicae capiundae, neque id quibus modis assequeretur, dum sibi regnum pararet, quicquam pensi habebat. Agitabatur magis magisque in dies animus ferox inopia rei familiaris et conscientia scelerum, quae utraque eis artibus auxerat quas supra memoravi. Incitabant praeterea corrupti civitatis mores, quos pessuma ac divorsa inter se mala, luxuria atque avaritia, vexabant.

His accomplices and dupes.

In tanta tamque corrupta civitate Catilina, id quod factu facillumum erat, omnium flagitiorum atque facinorum circum se tamquam stipatorum catervas habebat. Nam quicumque impudicus, adulter, ganeo, manu, ventre, pene bona patria laceraverat, quique alienum aes grande conflaverat quo flagitium aut facinus redimeret, praeterea omnes undique parricidae, sacrilegi, convicti iudiciis aut pro factis iudicium timentes, ad hoc quos manus atque lingua, periurio aut sanguine civili alebat, postremo omnes quos flagitium, egestas, conscius animus exagitabat, ei Catilinae proxumi familiaresque erant. Quod si quis etiam a culpa vacuus in amicitiam eius inciderat, cotidiano usu atque illecebris facile par similisque ceteris efficiebatur. Sed maxume adulescentium familiaritates appetebat: eorum animi molles etiam et fluxi dolis haud difficulter capiebantur. Nam ut cuiusque studium ex aetate flagrabat, aliis scorta praebere, aliis canes atque equos mercari, postremo neque sumptui neque modestiae suae parcere, dum illos obnoxios fidosque sibi faceret. Scio fuisse non nullos, qui ita existumarent, iuventutem quae domum Catilinae frequentabat parum honeste pudicitiam habuisse; sed ex aliis rebus magis, quam quod cuiquam id compertum foret, haec fama valebat.

Inception of the plot. The conspirators.

Sed iuventutem, quam, ut supra diximus, illexerat, multis modis mala facinora edocebat. Ex illis testis signatoresque falsos commodare; fidem, fortunas, pericula vilia habere, post, ubi eorum famam atque pudorem attriverat, maiora alia imperabat. Si causa peccandi in praesens minus suppetebat, nihilo minus insontis sicuti sontis circumvenire, iugulare:

scilicet ne per otium torpescerent manus aut animus, gratuito potius malus atque crudelis erat.

Eis amicis sociisque confisus Catilina, simul quod aes alienum per omnis terras ingens erat et quod plerique Sullani milites, largius suo usi, rapinarum et victoriae veteris memores civile bellum exoptabant, opprimundae rei publicae consilium cepit. In Italia nullus exercitus, Cn. Pompeius in extremis terris bellum gerebat; ipsi consulatum petenti magna spes, senatus nihil sane intentus: tutae tranquillaeque res omnes, sed ea prorsus opportuna Catilinae.

Igitur circiter Kalendas Iunias L. Caesare et C. Figulo consulibus primo singulos appellare, hortari alios, alios temptare; opes suas, imparatam rem publicam, magna praemia coniurationis docere. Ubi satis explorata sunt quae voluit, in unum omnis convocat quibus maxuma necessitudo et plurumum audaciae inerat. Eo convenere senatorii ordinis P. Lentulus Sura, P. Autronius, L. Cassius Longinus, C. Cethegus, P. et Ser. Sullae Ser. filii, L. Vargunteius, Q. Annius, M. Porcius Laeca, L. Bestia, Q. Curius; praeterea ex equestri ordine M. Fulvius Nobilior, L. Statilius, P. Gabinius Capito, C. Cornelius; ad hoc multi ex coloniis et municipiis domi nobiles. Erant praeterea complures paulo occultius consili huiusce participes nobiles, quos magis dominationis spes hortabatur quam inopia aut alia necessitudo. Ceterum iuventus pleraque, sed maxume nobilium, Catilinae inceptis favebat; quibus in otio vel magnifice vel molliter vivere copia erat, incerta pro certis, bellum quam pacem malebant. Fuere item ea tempestate qui crederent M. Licinium Crassum non ignarum eius consili fuisse; quia Cn. Pompeius, invisus ipsi, magnum exercitum ductabat, cuiusvis opes voluisse contra illius potentiam crescere, simul confisum, si coniuratio valuisset, facile apud illos principem se fore.

Catiline's address before the chosen leaders.

Catilina, ubi eos quos paulo ante memoravi convenisse videt, tametsi cum singulis multa saepe egerat, tamen in rem fore credens universos appellare et cohortari, in abditam partem aedium secedit atque ibi omnibus arbitris procul amotis orationem huiuscemodi habuit:

"Ni virtus fidesque vostra spectata mihi forent, nequiquam opportuna res cecidisset; spes magna, dominatio in manibus frustra fuissent; neque ego per ignaviam aut vana ingenia incerta pro certis captarem. Sed quia multis et magnis tempestatibus vos cognovi fortis fidosque mihi, eo animus ausus est maxumum atque pulcherrumum facinus incipere, simul quia vobis eadem quae mihi bona malaque esse intellexi; nam idem velle atque idem nolle, ea demum firma amicitia est.

"Sed ego quae mente agitavi omnes iam antea divorsi audistis. Ceterum mihi in dies magis animus accenditur, cum considero quae condicio vitae futura sit, nisi nosmet ipsi vindicamus in libertatem. Nam postquam res publica in paucorum potentium ius atque dicionem concessit, semper illis reges, tetrarchae vectigales esse, populi, nationes stipendia pendere; ceteri omnes, strenui, boni, nobiles atque ignobiles, volgus fuimus sine gratia, sine auctoritate, eis obnoxii quibus, si res publica valeret, formidini essemus. Itaque omnis gratia, potentia, honos, divitiae apud illos sunt aut ubi illi volunt; nobis reliquere pericula, repulsas, iudicia, egestatem. Quae quousque tandem patiemini, o fortissumi viri? nonne emori per virtutem praestat, quam vitam miseram atque inhonestam, ubi alienae superbiae ludibrio fueris, per dedecus amittere? Verum enimvero, pro deum atque hominum fidem, victoria in manu nobis est; viget

aetas, animus valet; contra illis annis atque divitiis omnia consenuerunt. Tantum modo incepto opus est, cetera res expediet. Etenim quis mortalium, cui virile ingenium est, tolerare potest illis divitias superare quas profundant in exstruendo mari et montibus coaequandis, nobis rem familiarem etiam ad necessaria deesse? illos binas aut amplius domos continuare, nobis larem familiarem nusquam ullum esse? Cum tabulas, signa, toreumata emunt, nova diruunt, alia aedificant, postremo omnibus modis pecuniam trahunt, vexant, tamen summa lubidine divitias suas vincere nequeunt. At nobis est domi inopia, foris aes alienum; mala res, spes multo asperior; denique quid reliqui habemus praeter miseram animam?

"Quin igitur expergiscimini? En illa, illa quam saepe optastis libertas, praeterea divitiae, decus, gloria in oculis sita sunt; fortuna omnia ea victoribus praemia posuit. Res, tempus, pericula, egestas, belli spolia magnifica magis quam oratio mea vos hortantur. Vel imperatore vel milite me utimini; neque animus neque corpus a vobis aberit. Haec ipsa, ut spero, vobiscum una consul agam, nisi forte me animus fallit et vos servire magis quam imperare parati estis."

His plans and promises; the awful oath.

Postquam accepere ea homines quibus mala abunde omnia erant, sed neque res neque spes bona ulla, tametsi illis quieta movere magna merces videbatur, tamen postulavere plerique ut proponeret quae condicio belli foret, quae praemia armis peterent, quid ubique opis aut spei haberent. Tum Catilina polliceri tabulas novas, proscriptionem locupletium, magistratus, sacerdotia, rapinas, alia omnia, quae bellum atque lubido victorum fert. Praeterea esse in Hispania citeriore

Pisonem, in Mauretania cum exercitu P. Sittium Nucerinum, consili sui participes; petere consulatum C. Antonium, quem sibi collegam fore speraret, hominem et familiarem et omnibus necessitudinibus circumventum; cum eo se consulem initium agundi facturum. Ad hoc maledictis increpabat omnis bonos, suorum unum quemque nominans laudare: admonebat alium egestatis, alium cupiditatis suae, compluris periculi aut ignominiae, multos victoriae Sullanae, quibus ea praedae fuerat. Postquam omnium animos alacris videt, cohortatus ut petitionem suam curae habèrent, conventum dimisit.

Fuere ea tempestate qui dicerent Catilinam, oratione habita, cum ad iusiurandum popularis sceleris sui adigeret, humani corporis sanguinem vino permixtum in pateris circumtulisse; inde cum post exsecrationem omnes degustavissent, sicuti in solemnibus sacris fieri consuevit, aperuisse consilium suum; atque eo dictitare fecisse, quo inter se fidi magis forent alius alii tanti facinoris conscii. Non nulli ficta et haec et multa praeterea existumabant ab eis qui Ciceronis invidiam, quae postea orta est, leniri credebant atrocitate sceleris eorum qui poenas dederant. Nobis ea res pro magnitudine parum comperta est.

Curius the informer, and the election of Cicero to the consulship. The plot matures.

Sed in ea coniuratione fuit Q. Curius, natus haud obscuro loco, flagitiis atque facinoribus coopertus, quem censores senatu probri gratia moverant. Huic homini non minor vanitas inerat quam audacia; neque reticere quae audierat, neque suamet ipse scelera occultare, prorsus neque dicere neque facere quicquam pensi habebat. Erat ei cum Fulvia, muliere nobili, stupri vetus consuetudo; cui cum minus

gratus esset, quia inopia minus largiri poterat, repente glorians maria montisque polliceri coepit et minari interdum ferro, ni sibi obnoxia foret, postremo ferocius agitare quam solitus erat. At Fulvia insolentiae Curi causa cognita tale periculum rei publicae haud occultum habuit, sed sublato auctore de Catilinae coniuratione quae quoque modo audierat, compluribus narravit.

Ea res in primis studia hominum accendit ad consulatum mandandum M. Tullio Ciceroni. Namque antea pleraque nobilitas invidia aestuabat, et quasi pollui consulatum credebant, si eum quamvis egregius homo novos adeptus foret. Sed ubi periculum advenit, invidia atque superbia post fuere. Igitur comitiis habitis consules declarantur M. Tullius et C. Antonius. Quod factum primo popularis coniurationis concusserat. Neque tamen Catilinae furor minuebatur, sed in dies plura agitare: arma per Italiam locis opportunis parare, pecuniam sua aut amicorum fide sumptam mutuam Faesulas ad Manlium quendam portare, qui postea princeps fuit belli faciundi.

Underhand methods fail. Preparations for open war. Attempted assassination of Cicero.

His rebus comparatis, Catilina nihilo minus in proxumum annum consulatum petebat, sperans, si designatus foret, facile se ex voluntate Antonio usurum. Neque interea quietus erat, sed omnibus modis insidias parabat Ciceroni. Neque illi tamen ad cavendum dolus aut astutiae deerant. Namque a principio consulatus sui multa pollicendo per Fulviam effecerat, ut Q. Curius, de quo paulo ante memoravi, consilia Catilinae sibi proderet. Ad hoc collegam suum Antonium pactione provinciae perpulerat, ne contra rem publicam sentiret; circum se praesidia amicorum atque

clientium occulte habebat. Postquam dies comitiorum venit et Catilinae neque petitio neque insidiae, quas consulibus in campo fecerat, prospere cessere, constituit bellum facere et extrema omnia experiri, quoniam quae occulte temptaverat aspera foedaque evenerant.

Igitur C. Manlium Faesulas atque in eam partem Etruriae, Septimium quendam Camertem in agrum Picenum, C. Iulium in Apuliam dimisit, praeterea alium alio, quem ubique opportunum sibi fore credebat. Interea Romae multa simul moliri: insidias tendere, parare incendia, opportuna loca armatis hominibus obsidere; ipse cum telo esse, item alios iubere, hortari uti semper intenti paratique essent; dies noctisque festinare, vigilare, neque insomniis neque labore fatigari. Postremo, ubi multa agitanti nihil procedit, rursus intempesta nocte coniurationis principes convocat per M. Porcium Laecam, ibique multa de ignavia eorum questus docet se Manlium praemisisse ad eam multitudinem quam ad capiunda arma paraverat, item alios in alia loca opportuna, qui initium belli facerent, seque ad exercitum proficisci cupere, si prius Ciceronem oppressisset; eum suis consiliis multum officere. Igitur perterritis ac dubitantibus ceteris C. Cornelius eques Romanus operam suam pollicitus, et cum eo L. Vargunteius senator, constituere ea nocte paulo post cum armatis hominibus sicuti salutatum introire ad Ciceronem ac de improviso domi suae imparatum confodere. Curius ubi intellegit quantum periculum consuli impendeat, propere per Fulviam Ciceroni dolum qui parabatur enuntiat. Ita illi ianua prohibiti tantum facinus frustra susceperant.

Interea Manlius in Etruria plebem sollicitare, egestate simul ac dolore iniuriae novarum rerum cupidam, quod Sullae dominatione agros bonaque omnia amiserat; praeterea latrones cuiusque generis, quorum in ea regione magna copia

erat; non nullos ex Sullanis coloniis, quibus lubido atque luxuria ex magnis rapinis nihil reliqui fecerat.

The beginning of hostilities. Cicero's first oration against Catiline. Catiline's departure from Rome.

Ea cum Ciceroni nuntiarentur, ancipiti malo permotus, quod neque urbem ab insidiis privato consilio longius tueri poterat neque exercitus Manli quantus aut quo consilio foret satis compertum habebat, rem ad senatum refert, iam antea volgi rumoribus exagitatam. Itaque, quod plerumque in atroci negotio solet, senatus decrevit, darent operam consules ne quid res publica detrimenti caperet. Ea potestas per senatum more Romano magistratui maxuma permittitur, exercitum parare, bellum gerere, coercere omnibus modis socios atque civis, domi militiaeque imperium atque iudicium summum habere; aliter sine populi iussu nullius earum rerum consuli ius est.

Post paucos dies L. Saenius senator in senatu litteras recitavit, quas Faesulis allatas sibi dicebat, in quibus scriptum erat C. Manlium arma cepisse cum magna multitudine ante diem VI Kalendas Novembris. Simul, id quod in tali re solet, alii portenta atque prodigia nuntiabant, alii conventus fieri, arma portari, Capuae atque in Apulia servile bellum moveri. Igitur senati decreto Q. Marcius Rex Faesulas, Q. Metellus Creticus in Apuliam circumque ea loca missi —ei utrique ad urbem imperatores erant, impediti ne triumpharent calumnia paucorum, quibus omnia honesta atque inhonesta vendere mos erat— sed praetores Q. Pompeius Rufus Capuam, Q. Metellus Celer in agrum Picenum, eisque permissum uti pro tempore atque periculo exercitum compararent. Ad hoc, si quis indicavisset de coniuratione quae contra rem publicam facta erat, praemium servo libertatem et sestertia

centum, libero impunitatem eius rei et sestertia ducenta, itemque decrevere uti gladiatoriae familiae Capuam et in cetera municipia distribuerentur pro cuiusque opibus, Romae per totam urbem vigiliae haberentur eisque minores magistratus praeessent.

Quibus rebus permota civitas atque immutata urbis facies erat. Ex summa laetitia atque lascivia, quae diuturna quies pepererat, repente omnis tristitia invasit; festinare, trepidare, neque loco neque homini cuiquam satis credere, neque bellum gerere, neque pacem habere, suo quisque metu pericula metiri. Ad hoc mulieres, quibus rei publicae magnitudine belli timor insolitus incesserat, afflictare sese, manus supplices ad caelum tendere, miserari parvos liberos, rogitare, omnia pavere, superbia atque deliciis omissis sibi patriaeque diffidere.

At Catilinae crudelis animus eadem illa movebat, tametsi praesidia parabantur et ipse lege Plautia interrogatus erat ab L. Paulo. Postremo dissimulandi causa aut sui expurgandi, sicut iurgio lacessitus foret, in senatum venit. Tum M. Tullius consul, sive praesentiam eius timens sive ira commotus, orationem habuit luculentam atque utilem rei publicae, quam postea scriptam edidit. Sed ubi ille assedit, Catilina, ut erat paratus ad dissimulanda omnia, demisso voltu, voce supplici postulare a patribus coepit, ne quid de se temere crederent; ea familia ortum, ita se ab adulescentia vitam instituisse, ut omnia bona in spe haberet; ne existumarent sibi, patricio homini, cuius ipsius atque maiorum pluruma benificia in plebem Romanam essent, perdita re publica opus esse, cum eam servaret M. Tullius, inquilinus civis urbis Romae. Ad hoc male dicta alia cum adderet, obstrepere omnes, hostem atque parricidam vocare. Tum ille furibundus, "quoniam quidem circumventus," inquit, "ab ini-

micis praeceps agor, incendium meum ruina restinguam." Deinde se ex curia domum proripuit. Ibi multa ipse secum volvens, quod neque insidiae consuli procedebant et ab incendio intellegebat urbem vigiliis munitam, optumum factu credens exercitum augere ac, prius quam legiones scriberentur, multa antecapere quae bello usui forent, nocte intempesta cum paucis in Manliana castra profectus est. Sed Cethego atque Lentulo ceterisque, quorum cognoverat promptam audaciam, mandat, quibus rebus possent, opes factionis confirment, insidias consuli maturent, caedem, incendia aliaque belli facinora parent: sese propediem cum magno exercitu ad urbem accessurum.

The declaration of war.

Sed ipse paucos dies commoratus apud C. Flaminium in agro Arretino, dum vicinitatem antea sollicitatam armis exornat, cum fascibus atque aliis imperi insignibus in castra ad Manlium contendit. Haec ubi Romae comperta sunt, senatus Catilinam et Manlium hostis iudicat, ceterae multitudini diem statuit ante quam sine fraude liceret ab armis discedere, praeter rerum capitalium condemnatis. Praeterea decernit uti consules dilectum habeant, Antonius cum exercitu Catilinam persequi maturet, Cicero urbi praesidio sit.

Lentulus tempts the Allobroges to aid Catiline, but they betray him.

Isdem temporibus Romae Lentulus, sicuti Catilina praeceperat, quoscumque moribus aut fortuna novis rebus idoneos credebat, aut per se aut per alios sollicitabat, neque solum civis, sed cuiusque modi genus hominum, quod modo bello usui foret. Igitur P. Umbreno cuidam negotium dat, uti legatos Allobrogum requirat eosque, si possit, impellat ad

societatem belli, existumans publice privatimque aere alieno oppressos, praeterea quod natura gens Gallica bellicosa esset, facile eos ad tale consilium adduci posse. Umbrenus, quod in Gallia negotiatus erat, plerisque principibus civitatium notus erat atque eos noverat. Itaque sine mora, ubi primum legatos in foro conspexit, percontatus pauca de statu civitatis et quasi dolens eius casum, requirere coepit quem exitum tantis malis sperarent. Postquam illos videt queri de avaritia magistratuum, accusare senatum quod in eo auxili nihil esset, miseriis suis remedium mortem exspectare, "At ego", inquit, "vobis, si modo viri esse voltis, rationem ostendam qua tanta ista mala effugiatis." Haec ubi dixit, Allobroges in maxumam spem adducti Umbrenum orare ut sui misereretur; nihil tam asperum neque tam difficile esse, quod non cupidissume facturi essent, dum ea res civitatem aere alieno liberaret. Ille eos in domum D. Bruti perducit, quod foro propinqua erat neque aliena consuli propter Semproniam; nam tum Brutus ab Roma aberat. Praeterea Gabinium arcessit, quo maior auctoritas sermoni inesset. Eo praesente coniurationem aperit, nominat socios, praeterea multos cuiusque generis innoxios, quo legatis animus amplior esset. Deinde eos pollicitos operam suam domum dimittit. Sed Allobroges diu in incerto habuere quidnam consili caperent. In altera parte erat aes alienum, studium belli, magna merces in spe victoriae, at in altera maiores opes, tuta consilia, pro incerta spe certa praemia. Haec illis volventibus tandem vicit fortuna rei publicae. Itaque Q. Fabio Sangae, cuius patrocinio civitas plurumum utebatur, rem omnem, uti cognoverant, aperiunt. Cicero, per Sangam consilio cognito, legatis praecepit ut studium coniurationis vehementer simulent, ceteros adeant, bene polliceantur dentque operam uti eos quam maxume manifestos habeant.

The final plans.

Lentulus cum ceteris, qui principes coniurationis erant, paratis ut videbatur magnis copiis, constituerant uti, cum Catilina in agrum Faesulanum cum exercitu venisset, L. Bestia tribunus plebis, contione habita, quereretur de actionibus Ciceronis bellique gravissumi invidiam optumo consuli imponeret; eo signo proxuma nocte cetera multitudo coniurationis suum quisque negotium exsequeretur. Sed ea divisa hoc modo dicebantur: Statilius et Gabinius uti cum magna manu duodecim simul opportuna loca urbis incenderent, quo tumultu facilior aditus ad consulem ceterosque quibus insidiae parabantur fieret; Cethegus Ciceronis ianuam obsideret eumque vi aggrederetur, alius autem alium, sed filii familiarum, quorum ex nobilitate maxuma pars erat, parentis interficerent; simul caede et incendio perculsis omnibus ad Catilinam erumperent. Inter haec parata atque decreta Cethegus semper querebatur de ignavia sociorum: illos dubitando et dies prolatando magnas opportunitates corrumpere, facto, non consulto in tali periculo opus esse; seque, si pauci adiuvarent, languentibus aliis impetum in curiam facturum. Natura ferox, vehemens, manu promptus erat; maxumum bonum in celeritate putabat.

The surprise at the Mulvian bridge.

Sed Allobroges ex praecepto Ciceronis per Gabinium ceteros conveniunt; ab Lentulo, Cethego, Statilio, item Cassio postulant iusiurandum, quod signatum ad civis perferant; aliter haud facile eos ad tantum negotium impelli posse. Ceteri nihil suspicantes dant, Cassius semet eo brevi venturum pollicetur ac paulo ante legatos ex urbe proficiscitur. Lentulus cum eis T. Volturcium quendam Crotonien-

sem mittit, ut Allobroges, prius quam domum pergerent, cum Catilina, data atque accepta fide, societatem confirmarent. Ipse Volturcio litteras ad Catilinam dat, quarum exemplum infra scriptum est:

"Qui sim, ex eo quem ad te misi cognosces. Fac cogites in quanta calamitate sis, et memineris te virum esse; consideres quid tuae rationes postulent; auxilium petas ab omnibus, etiam ab infimis."

Ad hoc mandata verbis dat: cum ab senatu hostis iudicatus sit, quo consilio servitia repudiet? in urbe parata esse quae iusserit; ne cunctetur ipse propius accedere. His rebus ita actis, constituta nocte qua proficiscerentur, Cicero per legatos cuncta edoctus L. Valerio Flacco et C. Pomptino praetoribus imperat ut in ponte Mulvio per insidias Allobrogum comitatus deprehendant; rem omnem aperit cuius gratia mittebantur; cetera, uti facto opus sit, ita agant, permittit. Illi, homines militares, sine tumultu praesidiis collocatis, sicuti praeceptum erat, occulte pontem obsidunt. Postquam ad id loci legati cum Volturcio venerunt et simul utrimque clamor exortus est, Galli, cito cognito consilio, sine mora praetoribus se tradunt. Volturcius primo cohortatus ceteros gladio se a multitudine defendit, deinde ubi a legatis desertus est, multa prius de salute sua Pomptinum obtestatus, quod ei notus erat, postremo timidus ac vitae diffidens velut hostibus sese praetoribus dedit.

Informal examination of the prisoners before Cicero and the senate and their confession.

Quibus rebus confectis omnia propere per nuntios consuli declarantur. At illum ingens cura atque laetitia simul occupavere; nam laetabatur intellegens coniuratione patefacta civitatem periculis ereptam esse, porro autem anxius erat

dubitans, in maxumo scelere tantis civibus deprehensis, quid facto opus esset; poenam illorum sibi oneri, impunitatem perdundae rei publicae fore credebat. Igitur confirmato animo vocari ad sese iubet Lentulum, Cethegum, Statilium, Gabinium, itemque Caeparium Terracinensem, qui in Apuliam ad concitanda servitia proficisci parabat. Ceteri sine mora veniunt; Caeparius, paulo ante domo egressus, cognito indicio, ex urbe profugerat. Consul Lentulum, quod praetor erat, ipse manu tenens in senatum perducit, reliquos cum custodibus in aedem Concordiae venire iubet. Eo senatum advocat magnaque frequentia eius ordinis Volturcium cum legatis introducit, Flaccum praetorem scrinium cum litteris, quas a legatis acceperat, eodem afferre iubet.

Volturcius interrogatus de itinere, de litteris, postremo quid aut qua de causa consili habuisset, primo fingere alia, dissimulare de coniuratione; post, ubi fide publica dicere iussus est, omnia uti gesta erant aperit, docetque se paucis ante diebus a Gabinio et Caepario socium ascitum nihil amplius scire quam legatos; tantum modo audire solitum ex Gabinio P. Autronium, Ser. Sullam, L. Vargunteium, multos praeterea in ea coniuratione esse. Eadem Galli fatentur ac Lentulum dissimulantem coarguunt praeter litteras sermonibus quos ille habere solitus erat: ex libris Sibyllinis regnum Romae tribus Corneliis portendi; Cinnam atque Sullam antea, se tertium esse, cui fatum foret urbis potiri; praeterea ab incenso Capitolio illum esse vigesumum annum, quem saepe ex prodigiis haruspices respondissent bello civili cruentum fore. Igitur perlectis litteris, cum prius omnes signa sua cognovissent, senatus decernit uti, abdicato magistratu, Lentulus itemque ceteri in liberis custodiis habeantur. Itaque Lentulus P. Lentulo Spintheri,

qui tum aedilis erat, Cethegus Q. Cornificio, Statilius C. Caesari, Gabinius M. Crasso, Caeparius — nam is paulo ante ex fuga retractus erat — Cn. Terentio senatori traduntur.

The fourth oration and the discussion in the senate.

Dum haec in senatu aguntur et dum legatis Allobrogum et T. Volturcio, comprobato eorum indicio, praemia decernuntur, liberti et pauci ex clientibus Lentuli divorsis itineribus opifices atque servitia in vicis ad eum eripiundum sollicitabant, partim exquirebant duces multitudinum, qui pretio rem publicam vexare soliti erant. Cethegus autem per nuntios familiam atque libertos suos, lectos et exercitatos, orabat in audaciam, ut grege facto cum telis ad sese irrumperent. Consul ubi ea parari cognovit, dispositis praesidiis ut res atque tempus monebat, convocato senatu refert quid de eis fieri placeat qui in custodiam traditi erant. Sed eos paulo ante frequens senatus iudicaverat contra rem publicam fecisse. Tum D. Iunius Silanus, primus sententiam rogatus, quod eo tempore consul designatus erat, de eis qui in custodiis tenebantur, et praeterea de L. Cassio, P. Furio, P. Umbreno, Q. Annio, si deprehensi forent, supplicium sumundum decreverat; isque postea, permotus oratione C. Caesaris, pedibus in sententiam Ti. Neronis iturum se dixit, quod de ea re praesidiis additis referundum censuerat.

Conflicting views of Caesar and Cato.

Sed Caesar, ubi ad eum ventum est, rogatus sententiam a consule huiuscemodi verba locutus est:

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"Maiores nostri, patres conscripti, neque consili neque audaciae umquam eguere; neque illis superbia obstabat,

quo minus aliena instituta, si modo proba erant, imitarentur. Arma atque tela militaria ab Samnitibus, insignia magistratuum ab Tuscis pleraque sumpserunt. Postremo quod ubique apud socios aut hostis idoneum videbatur, cum summo studio domi exsequebantur; imitari quam invidere bonis malebant. Sed eodem illo tempore Graeciae morem imitati verberibus animadvortebant in civis, de condemnatis summum supplicium sumebant. Postquam res publica adolevit et multitudine civium factiones valuere, circumveniri innocentes, alia huiuscemodi fieri coepere, tum lex Porcia aliaeque leges paratae sunt, quibus legibus exsilium damnatis permissum est. Hanc ego causam, patres conscripti, quo minus novom consilium capiamus, in primis magnam puto. Profecto virtus atque sapientia maior illis fuit, qui ex parvis opibus tantum imperium fecere, quam in nobis, qui ea bene parta vix retinemus.

"Placet igitur eos dimitti et augeri exercitum Catilinae? Minume. Sed ita censeo: publicandas eorum pecunias, ipsos in vinculis habendos per municipia quae maxume opibus valent; neu quis de eis postea ad senatum referat, neve cum populo agat; qui aliter fecerit, senatum existumare eum contra rem publicam et salutem omnium facturum."

Postquam Caesar dicundi finem fecit, ceteri verbo alius alii varie assentiebantur. At M. Porcius Cato rogatus sententiam huiuscemodi orationem habuit:

"Longe mihi alia mens est, patres conscripti, cum res atque pericula nostra considero, et cum sententias non nullorum ipse mecum reputo. Illi mihi disseruisse videntur de poena eorum, qui patriae, parentibus, aris atque focis suis bellum paravere; res autem monet cavere ab illis magis quam quid in illos statuamus consultare. Nam cetera mali-

ficia tum persequare ubi facta sunt; hoc nisi provideris ne accidat, ubi evenit, frustra iudicia implores: capta urbe nihil fit reliqui victis. Sed, per deos immortalis, vos ego appello, qui semper domos, villas, signa, tabulas vostras pluris quam rem publicam fecistis; si ista, cuiuscumque modi sunt quae amplexamini, retinere, si voluptatibus vostris otium praebere voltis, expergiscimini aliquando et capessite rem publicam. Non agitur de vectigalibus neque de sociorum iniuriis; libertas et anima nostra in dubio est.

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"Quare ego ita censeo: cum nefario consilio sceleratorum civium res publica in maxuma pericula venerit, eique indicio T. Volturci et legatorum Allobrogum convicti confessique sint caedem, incendia aliaque se foeda atque crudelia facinora in civis patriamque paravisse, de confessis, sicuti de manufestis rerum capitalium, more maiorum supplicium sumundum."

Postquam Cato assedit, consulares omnes itemque senatus magna pars sententiam eius laudant, virtutem animi ad caelum ferunt, alii alios increpantes timidos vocant. Cato clarus atque magnus habetur; senati decretum fit, sicuti ille censuerat.

Execution of the conspirators.

Postquam, ut dixi, senatus in Catonis sententiam discessit, consul optumum factu ratus noctem quae instabat antecapere, ne quid eo spatio novaretur, triumviros quae supplicium postulabat parare iubet. Ipse praesidiis dispositis Lentulum in carcerem deducit; idem fit ceteris per praetores. Est in carcere locus quod Tullianum appellatur, ubi paululum ascenderis ad laevam, circiter duodecim pedes humi depressus; eum muniunt undique parietes atque insuper

camera lapideis fornicibus iuncta; sed incultu, tenebris, odore foeda atque terribilis eius facies est. In eum locum postquam demissus est Lentulus, vindices rerum capitalium quibus praeceptum erat laqueo gulam fregere. Ita ille patricius ex gente clarissuma Corneliorum, qui consulare imperium Romae habuerat, dignum moribus factisque suis exitium vitae invenit. De Cethego, Statilio, Gabinio, Caepario, eodem modo supplicium sumptum est.

Collapse of the plot.

Dum ea Romae geruntur, Catilina ex omni copia, quam et ipse adduxerat et Manlius habuerat, duas legiones instituit, cohortis pro numero militum complet. Deinde, ut quisque voluntarius aut ex sociis in castra venerat, aequaliter distribuerat, ac brevi spatio legiones numero hominum expleverat, cum initio non amplius duobus milibus habuisset. Sed ex omni copia circiter pars quarta erat militaribus armis instructa; ceteri, ut quemque casus armaverat, sparos aut lanceas, alii praeacutas sudis portabant. Sed postquam Antonius cum exercitu adventabat, Catilina per montis iter facere, modo ad urbem modo Galliam vorsus castra movere, hostibus occasionem pugnandi non dare. Sperabat propediem magnas copias sese habiturum, si Romae socii incepta patravissent. Interea servitia repudiabat, cuius initio ad eum magnae copiae concurrebant, opibus coniurationis fretus, simul alienum suis rationibus existumans videri causam civium cum servis fugitivis communicavisse.

Sed postquam in castra nuntius pervenit Romae coniurationem patefactam, de Lentulo et Cethego ceterisque quos supra memoravi supplicium sumptum, plerique, quos ad bellum spes rapinarum aut novarum rerum studium illexerat, dilabuntur; reliquos Catilina per montis asperos magnis

itineribus in agrum Pistoriensem abducit eo consilio, uti per tramites occulte perfugeret in Galliam Transalpinam. At Q. Metellus Celer cum tribus legionibus in agro Piceno praesidebat, ex difficultate rerum eadem illa existumans, quae supra diximus Catilinam agitare. Igitur ubi iter eius ex perfugis cognovit, castra propere movit ac sub ipsis radicibus montium consedit, qua illi descensus erat in Galliam properanti. Neque tamen Antonius procul aberat, utpote qui magno exercitu locis aequioribus expeditos in fuga sequeretur. Sed Catilina, postquam videt montibus atque copiis hostium sese clausum, in urbe res advorsas, neque fugae neque praesidi ullam spem, optumum factu ratus in tali re fortunam belli temptare, statuit cum Antonio quam primum confligere. Itaque contione advocata huiuscemodi orationem habuit:

Catiline's last speech to his men.

* * * * * * *

"Cum vos considero, milites, et cum facta vostra aestumo, magna me spes victoriae tenet. Animus, aetas, virtus vostra me hortantur, praeterea necessitudo, quae etiam timidos fortis facit. Nam multitudo hostium ne circumvenire queat, prohibent angustiae loci. Quod si virtuti vostrae fortuna inviderit, cavete inulti animam amittatis, neu capti potius sicuti pecora trucidemini quam virorum more pugnantes cruentam atque luctuosam victoriam hostibus relinquatis."

His death in the battle against Antonius and Petreius.

Haec ubi dixit, paululum commoratus signa canere iubet atque instructos ordines in locum aequom deducit. Dein remotis omnium equis, quo militibus exaequato periculo

animus amplior esset, ipse pedes exercitum pro loco atque copiis instruit. Nam, uti planities erat inter sinistros montis et ab dextra rupe aspera, octo cohortis in fronte constituit, reliquarum signa in subsidio artius collocat; ab eis centuriones omnis, lectos et evocatos, praeterea ex gregariis militibus optumum quemque armatum in primam aciem subducit. C. Manlium in dextra, Faesulanum quendam in sinistra parte curare iubet. Ipse cum libertis et calonibus propter aquilam assistit, quam bello Cimbrico C. Marius in exercitu habuisse dicebatur.

At ex altera parte C. Antonius, pedibus aeger quod proelio adesse nequibat, M. Petreio legato exercitum permittit. Ille cohortis veteranas, quas tumultus causa conscripserat, in fronte, post eas ceterum exercitum in subsidiis locat. Ipse equo circumiens unum quemque nominans appellat, hortatur, rogat ut meminerint se contra latrones inermis pro patria, pro liberis, pro aris atque focis suis certare. Homo militaris, quod amplius annos triginta tribunus aut praefectus aut legatus aut praetor cum magna gloria in exercitu fuerat, plerosque ipsos factaque eorum fortia noverat; ea commemorando militum animos accendebat.

Sed ubi, omnibus rebus exploratis, Petreius tuba signum dat, cohortis paulatim incedere iubet; idem facit hostium exercitus. Postquam eo ventum est unde ferentariis proelium committi posset, maxumo clamore cum infestis signis concurrunt; pila omittunt, gladiis res geritur. Veterani pristinae virtutis memores comminus acriter instare, illi haud timidi resistunt; maxuma vi certatur. Interea Catilina cum expeditis in prima acie vorsari, laborantibus succurrere, integros pro sauciis arcessere, omnia providere, multum ipse pugnare, saepe hostem ferire; strenui militis et boni imperatoris officia simul exsequebatur. Petreius

ubi videt Catilinam, contra ac ratus erat, magna vi tendere, cohortem praetoriam in medios hostis inducit eosque perturbatos atque alios alibi resistentis interficit; deinde utrimque ex lateribus ceteros aggreditur. Manlius et Faesulanus in primis pugnantes cadunt. Catilina postquam fusas copias seque cum paucis relictum videt, memor generis atque pristinae suae dignitatis in confertissumos hostis incurrit ibique pugnans confoditur.

Sed confecto proelio tum vero cerneres quanta audacia quantaque animi vis fuisset in exercitu Catilinae. Nam fere quem quisque vivos pugnando locum ceperat, eum amissa anima corpore tegebat. Pauci autem, quos medios cohors praetoria disiecerat, paulo divorsius, sed omnes tamen advorsis volneribus conciderant. Catilina vero longe a suis inter hostium cadavera repertus est, paululum etiam spirans ferociamque animi, quam habuerat vivos, in voltu retinens. Postremo ex omni copia neque in proelio neque in fuga quisquam civis ingenuus captus est; ita cuncti suae hostiumque vitae iuxta pepercerant. Neque tamen exercitus populi Romani laetam aut incruentam victoriam adeptus erat. Nam strenuissumus quisque aut occiderat in proelio aut graviter volneratus discesserat. Multi autem, qui e castris visundi aut spoliandi gratia processerant, volventes hostilia cadavera amicum alii, pars hospitem aut cognatum reperiebant; fuere item qui inimicos suos cognoscerent. Ita varie per omnem exercitum laetitia, maeror, luctus atque gaudia agitabantur.

SELECTIONS FROM SALLUST

For Translation at Sight

A sketch of Roman history preceding the conspiracy.

Urbem Romam, sicuti ego accepi, condidere atque habuere initio Troiani, qui Aenea duce profugi sedibus incertis vagabantur, cumque eis Aborigines, genus hominum agreste, sine legibus, sine imperio, liberum atque solutum. Hi postquam in una moenia convenere, dispari genere, dissimili lingua, alii alio more viventes, incredibile memoratu est quam facile coaluerint; ita brevi multitudo dispersa atque vaga concordia civitas facta erat. Sed postquam res eorum, civibus, moribus, agris aucta, satis prospera satisque pollens videbatur, sicuti pleraque mortalium habentur, invidia ex opulentia orta est. Igitur reges populique finitumi bello temptare, pauci ex amicis auxilio esse, nam ceteri metu perculsi a periculis aberant. At Romani domi militiaeque intenti festinare, parare, alius alium hortari, hostibus obviam ire, libertatem, patriam, parentisque armis tegere. Post, ubi pericula virtute propulerant, sociis atque amicis auxilia portabant, magisque dandis quam accipiundis benificiis amicitias parabant. Imperium legitumum, nomen imperi regium habebant. Delecti, quibus corpus annis infirmum, ingenium sapientia validum erat, rei publicae consultabant; ei vel aetate vel curae similitudine patres appellabantur. Post, ubi regium imperium, quod initio conservandae libertatis atque augendae rei publicae fuerat, in superbiam dominationemque se convortit, immutato more annua im-

peria binosque imperatores sibi fecere; eo modo minume posse putabant per licentiam insolescere animum humanum.

Sed ea tempestate coepere se quisque magis extollere magisque ingenium in promptu habere. Nam regibus boni quam mali suspectiores sunt, semperque eis aliena virtus formidulosa est. Sed civitas incredibile memoratu est adepta libertate quantum brevi creverit: tanta cupido gloriae incesserat. Iam primum iuventus, simul ac belli patiens erat, in castris per laborem usu militiam discebat, magisque in decoris armis et militaribus equis quam in scortis atque conviviis lubidinem habebant. Igitur talibus viris non labor insolitus, non locus ullus asper aut arduus erat, non armatus hostis formidulosus; virtus omnia domuerat. Sed gloriae maxumum certamen inter ipsos erat; se quisque hostem ferire, murum ascendere, conspici, dum tale facinus faceret, properabat; eas divitias, eam bonam famam magnamque nobilitatem putabant. Laudis avidi, pecuniae liberales erant; gloriam ingentem, divitias honestas volebant. Memorare possem quibus in locis maxumas hostium copias populus Romanus parva manu fuderit, quas urbis natura munitas pugnando ceperit, ni ea res longius nos ab incepto traheret.

Sed profecto fortuna in omni re dominatur; ea res cunctas ex lubidine magis quam ex vero celebrat obscuratque. Atheniensium res gestae, sicuti ego aestumo, satis amplae magnificaeque fuere, verum aliquanto minores tamen quam fama feruntur. Sed quia provenere ibi scriptorum magna ingenia, per terrarum orbem Atheniensium facta pro maxumis celebrantur. Ita eorum qui ea fecere virtus tanta habetur, quantum ea verbis potuere extollere praeclara ingenia. At populo Romano numquam ea copia fuit, quia prudentissumus quisque maxume negotiosus erat, ingenium

nemo sine corpore exercebat, optumus quisque facere quam dicere, sua ab aliis bene facta laudari quam ipse aliorum narrare malebat.

Igitur domi militiaeque boni mores colebantur; concordia maxuma, minuma avaritia erat; ius bonumque apud eos non legibus magis quam natura valebat. Iurgia, discordias, simultates cum hostibus exercebant, cives cum civibus de virtute certabant; in suppliciis deorum magnifici, domi parci, in amicos fideles erant. Duabus his artibus, audacia in bello, ubi pax evenerat aequitate, seque remque publicam curabant. Quarum rerum ego maxuma documenta haec habeo, quod in bello saepius vindicatum est in eos qui contra imperium in hostem pugnaverant quique tardius revocati proelio excesserant, quam qui signa relinquere aut pulsi loco cedere ausi erant; in pace vero quod benificiis quam metu imperium agitabant et accepta iniuria ignoscere quam persequi malebant.

Sed ubi labore atque iustitia res publica crevit, reges magni bello domiti, nationes ferae et populi ingentes vi subacti, Carthago, aemula imperi Romani, ab stirpe interiit, cuncta maria terraeque patebant, saevire fortuna ac miscere omnia coepit. Qui labores, pericula, dubias atque asperas res facile toleraverant, eis otium, divitiae, optanda alias, oneri miseriaeque fuere. Igitur primo imperi, pecuniae deinde cupido crevit; ea quasi materies omnium malorum fuere. Namque avaritia fidem, probitatem, ceterasque artis bonas subvortit; pro his superbiam, crudelitatem, deos neglegere, omnia venalia habere edocuit. Ambitio multos mortalis falsos fieri subegit, aliud clausum in pectore, aliud in lingua promptum habere, amicitias inimicitiasque non ex re sed ex commodo aestumare, magisque voltum quam ingenium bonum habere. Haec primo paulatim crescere,

interdum vindicari; post ubi contagio quasi pestilentia invasit, civitas immutata, imperium ex iustissumo atque optumo crudele intolerandumque factum.

Sed primo magis ambitio quam avaritia animos hominum exercebat, quod tamen vitium propius virtutem erat. Nam gloriam, honorem, imperium bonus et ignavos aeque sibi exoptant; sed ille vera via nititur, huic quia bonae artes desunt, dolis atque fallaciis contendit. Avaritia pecuniae studium habet, quam nemo sapiens concupivit; ea quasi venenis malis imbuta corpus animumque virilem effeminat, semper infinita, insatiabilis est, neque copia neque inopia minuitur. Sed postquam L. Sulla, armis recepta re publica, bonis initiis malos eventus habuit, rapere omnes, trahere, domum alius, alius agros cupere, neque modum neque modestiam victores habere, foeda crudeliaque in civis facinora facere. Huc accedebat quod L. Sulla exercitum, quem in Asia ductaverat, quo sibi fidum faceret, contra morem maiorum luxuriose nimisque liberaliter habuerat. Loca amoena, voluptaria facile in otio ferocis militum animos molliverant. Ibi primum insuevit exercitus populi Romani amare, potare, signa, tabulas pictas, vasa caelata mirari, ea privatim et publice rapere, delubra spoliare, sacra profanaque omnia polluere. Igitur ei milites, postquam victoriam adepti sunt, nihil reliqui victis fecere. Quippe secundae res sapientium animos fatigant, ne illi corruptis moribus victoriae temperarent.

Postquam divitiae honori esse coepere et eas gloria imperium potentia sequebatur, hebescere virtus, paupertas probro haberi, innocentia pro malivolentia duci coepit. Igitur ex divitiis iuventutem luxuria atque avaritia cum superbia invasere; rapere, consumere, sua parvi pendere, aliena cupere; pudorem, pudicitiam, divina atque humana

promiscua, nihil pensi neque moderati habere. Operae pretium est, cum domos atque villas cognoveris in urbium modum exaedificatas, visere templa deorum, quae nostri maiores, religiosissumi mortales, fecere. Verum illi delubra deorum pietate, domos suas gloria decorabant, neque victis quicquam praeter iniuriae licentiam eripiebant. At hi contra, ignavissumi homines, per summum scelus omnia ea sociis adimere, quae fortissumi viri victores reliquerant; proinde quasi iniuriam facere id demum esset imperio uti. Nam quid ea memorem quae, nisi eis qui videre, nemini credibilia sunt, a privatis compluribus subvorsos montis, maria constrata esse? quibus mihi videntur ludibrio fuisse divitiae; quippe, quas honeste habere licebat, abuti per turpitudinem properabant. Sed lubido stupri, ganeae ceterique cultus non minor incesserat; viri muliebria pati, mulieres pudicitiam in propatulo habere; vescendi causa terra marique omnia exquirere; dormire prius quam somni cupido esset; non famem aut sitim, neque frigus neque lassitudinem opperiri, sed ea omnia luxu antecapere. Haec iuventutem, ubi familiares opes defecerant, ad facinora incendebant; animus imbutus malis artibus haud facile lubidinibus carebat; eo profusius omnibus modis quaestui atque sumptui deditus erat.

Caesar's plea for lenient treatment of the prisoners.

"Omnis homines, patres conscripti, qui de rebus dubiis consultant, ab odio, amicitia, ira atque misericordia vacuos esse decet. Haud facile animus verum providet, ubi illa officiunt, neque quisquam omnium lubidini simul et usui paruit. Ubi intenderis ingenium, valet; si lubido possidet, ea dominatur, animus nihil valet. Magna mihi copia est memorandi, patres conscripti, qui reges atque populi ira aut

misericordia impulsi male consuluerint. Sed ea malo dicere quae maiores nostri contra lubidinem animi sui recte atque ordine fecere. Bello Macedonico, quod cum rege Perse gessimus, Rhodiorum civitas magna atque magnifica, quae populi Romani opibus creverat, infida atque advorsa nobis fuit. Sed postquam, bello confecto, de Rhodiis consultum est, maiores nostri, ne quis divitiarum magis quam iniuriae causa bellum inceptum diceret, impunitos eos dimisere. Item bellis Punicis omnibus, cum saepe Carthaginienses et in pace et per indutias multa nefaria facinora fecissent, numquam ipsi per occasionem talia fecere; magis quid se dignum foret quam quid in illos iure fieri posset quaerebant. Hoc item vobis providendum est, patres conscripti, ne plus apud vos valeat P. Lentuli et ceterorum scelus quam vostra dignitas, neu magis irae vostrae quam famae consulatis. Nam si digna poena pro factis eorum reperitur, novom consilium approbo; sin magnitudo sceleris omnium ingenia exsuperat, his utendum censeo, quae legibus comparata sunt.

"Plerique eorum, qui ante me sententias dixerunt, composite atque magnifice casum rei publicae miserati sunt. Quae belli saevitia esset, quae victis acciderent, enumeravere: rapi virgines, pueros, divelli liberos a parentum complexu, matres familiarum pati quae victoribus collubuissent, fana atque domos spoliari, caedem, incendia fieri, postremo armis, cadaveribus, cruore atque luctu omnia compleri. Sed, per deos immortalis, quo illa oratio pertinuit? An uti vos infestos coniurationi faceret? Scilicet quem res tanta et tam atrox non permovit, eum oratio accendet. Non ita est, neque cuiquam mortalium iniuriae suae parvae videntur; multi eas gravius aequo habuere. Sed alia aliis licentia est, patres conscripti. Qui demissi in obscuro vitam habent, si quid iracundia deliquere, pauci sciunt;

fama atque fortuna eorum pares sunt; qui magno imperio praediti in excelso aetatem agunt, eorum facta cuncti mortales novere. Ita in maxuma fortuna minuma licentia est; neque studere neque odisse, sed minume irasci decet; quae apud alios iracundia dicitur, ea in imperio superbia atque crudelitas appellatur. Equidem ego sic existumo, patres conscripti, omnis cruciatus minores quam facinora illorum esse; sed plerique mortales postrema meminere, et in hominibus impiis sceleris eorum obliti de poena disserunt, si ea paulo saevior fuit.

"D. Silanum, virum fortem atque strenuum, certo scio quae dixerit studio rei publicae dixisse, neque illum in tanta re gratiam aut inimicitias exercere; eos mores eamque modestiam viri cognovi. Verum sententia eius mihi non crudelis — quid enim in talis homines crudele fieri potest? — sed aliena a re publica nostra videtur. Nam profecto aut metus aut iniuria te subegit, Silane, consulem designatum, genus poenae novom decernere. De timore supervacuaneum est disserere, cum praesertim diligentia clarissumi viri consulis tanta praesidia sint in armis. De poena possum equidem dicere, id quod res habet, in luctu atque miseriis mortem aerumnarum requiem, non cruciatum esse; eam cuncta mortalium mala dissolvere; ultra neque curae neque gaudio locum esse. Sed, per deos immortalis, quam ob rem in sententiam non addidisti, uti prius verberibus in eos animadvorteretur? An quia lex Porcia vetat? At aliae leges item condemnatis civibus non animam eripi, sed exsilium permitti iubent. An quia gravius est verberari quam necari? Quid autem acerbum aut nimis grave est in homines tanti facinoris convictos? Sin quia levius est, qui convenit in minore negotio legem timere, cum eam in maiore neglegeris?

"At enim quis reprehendet quod in parricidas rei publicae

decretum erit? Tempus, dies, fortuna, cuius lubido gentibus moderatur. Illis merito accidet quicquid evenerit; ceterum vos, patres conscripti, quid in alios statuatis considerate. Omnia mala exempla ex rebus bonis orta sunt. Sed ubi imperium ad ignaros eius aut minus bonos pervenit, novom illud exemplum ab dignis et idoneis ad indignos et non idoneos transfertur. Lacedaemonii devictis Atheniensibus triginta viros imposuere, qui rem publicam eorum tractarent. Ei primo coepere pessumum quemque et omnibus invisum indemnatum necare; ea populus laetari et merito dicere fieri. Post ubi paulatim licentia crevit, iuxta bonos et malos lubidinose interficere, ceteros metu terrere; ita civitas servitute oppressa stultae laetitiae gravis poenas dedit. Nostra memoria victor Sulla cum Damasippum et alios eius modi, qui malo rei publicae creverant, iugulari iussit, quis non factum eius laudabat? Homines scelestos et factiosos, qui seditionibus rem publicam exagitaverant, merito necatos aiebant. Sed ea res magnae initium cladis fuit. Nam uti quisque domum aut villam, postremo vas aut vestimentum alicuius concupiverat, dabat operam ut is in proscriptorum numero esset. Ita illi, quibus Damasippi mors laetitiae fuerat, paulo post ipsi trahebantur, neque prius finis iugulandi fuit, quam Sulla omnis suos divitiis explevit. Atque ego haec non in M. Tullio neque his temporibus vereor; sed in magna civitate multa et varia ingenia sunt. Potest alio tempore, alio consule, cui item exercitus in manu sit, falsum aliquid pro vero credi; ubi hoc exemplo per senatus decretum consul gladium eduxerit, quis illi finem statuet aut quis moderabitur?"

Cato's speech counselling severity.

"Saepenumero, patres conscripti, multa verba in hoc ordine feci, saepe de luxuria atque avaritia nostrorum civium questus sum, multosque mortalis ea causa advorsos habeo; qui mihi atque animo meo nullius umquam delicti gratiam fecissem, haud facile alterius lubidini male facta condonabam. Sed ea tametsi vos parvi pendebatis, tamen res publica firma erat; opulentia neglegentiam tolerabat. Nunc vero non id agitur, bonisne an malis moribus vivamus, neque quantum aut quam magnificum imperium populi Romani sit, sed haec, cuiuscumque modi videntur, nostra an nobiscum una hostium futura sint. Hic mihi quisquam mansuetudinem et misericordiam nominat? Iam pridem equidem nos vera vocabula rerum amisimus; quia bona aliena largiri liberalitas, malarum rerum audacia fortitudo vocatur, eo res publica in extremo sita est. Sint sane, quoniam ita se mores habent, liberales ex sociorum fortunis, sint misericordes in furibus aerari; ne illi sanguinem nostrum largiantur et, dum paucis sceleratis parcunt, bonos omnis perditum eant.

"Bene et composite C. Caesar paulo ante in hoc ordine de vita et morte disseruit, credo falsa existumans ea quae de inferis memorantur, divorso itinere malos a bonis loca taetra inculta, foeda atque formidulosa habere. Itaque censuit pecunias eorum publicandas, ipsos per municipia in custodiis habendos, videlicet timens, ne, si Romae sint, aut a popularibus coniurationis aut a multitudine conducta per vim eripiantur. Quasi vero mali atque scelesti tantum modo in urbe et non per totam Italiam sint, aut non ibi plus possit audacia, ubi ad defendundum opes minores sunt. Quare vanum equidem hoc consilium est, si periculum ex illis metuit; si in tanto omnium metu solus non timet, eo magis

refert me mihi atque vobis timere. Quare cum de P. Lentulo ceterisque statuetis, pro certo habetote vos simul de exercitu Catilinae et de omnibus coniuratis decernere. Quanto vos attentius ea agetis, tanto illis animus infirmior erit; si paululum modo vos languere viderint, iam omnes feroces aderunt.

"Nolite existumare maiores nostros armis rem publicam ex parva magnam fecisse. Si ita res esset, multo pulcherrumam eam nos haberemus; quippe sociorum atque civium, praeterea armorum atque equorum maior copia nobis quam illis est. Sed alia fuere quae illos magnos fecere, quae nobis nulla sunt; domi industria, foris iustum imperium, animus in consulundo liber, neque delicto neque lubidini obnoxius. Pro his nos habemus luxuriam atque avaritiam, publice egestatem, privatim opulentiam. Laudamus divitias, sequimur inertiam. Inter bonos et malos discrimen nullum, omnia virtutis praemia ambitio possidet. Neque mirum; ubi vos separatim sibi quisque consilium capitis, ubi domi voluptatibus, hic pecuniae aut gratiae servitis, eo fit, ut impetus fiat in vacuam rem publicam.

"Sed ego haec omitto. Coniuravere nobilissumi cives patriam incendere; Gallorum gentem infestissumam nomini Romano ad bellum arcessunt; dux hostium cum exercitu supra caput est: vos cunctamini etiam nunc et dubitatis quid intra moenia deprensis hostibus faciatis? Misereamini censeo — deliquere homines adulescentuli per ambitionem — atque etiam armatos dimittatis; ne ista vobis mansuetudo et misericordia, si illi arma ceperint, in miseriam convortat. Scilicet res ipsa aspera est, sed vos non timetis eam. Immo vero maxume; sed inertia et mollitia animi alius alium exspectantes cunctamini, videlicet dis immortalibus confisi, qui hanc rem publicam saepe in maxumis periculis servavere.

Non votis neque suppliciis muliebribus auxilia deorum parantur; vigilando, agundo, bene consulundo prospera omnia cedunt; ubi socordiae te atque ignaviae tradideris, nequiquam deos implores; irati infestique sunt. Apud maiores nostros A. Manlius Torquatus bello Gallico filium suum, quod is contra imperium in hostem pugnaverat, necari iussit, atque ille egregius adulescens immoderatae fortitudinis morte poenas dedit; vos de crudelissumis parricidis quid statuatis cunctamini? Videlicet cetera vita eorum huic sceleri obstat. Verum parcite dignitati Lentuli, si ipse pudicitiae, si famae suae, si dis aut hominibus umquam ullis pepercit; ignoscite Cethegi adulescentiae, nisi iterum patriae bellum fecit. Nam quid ego de Gabinio, Statilio, Caepario loquar? Quibus si quicquam umquam pensi fuisset, non ea consilia de re publica habuissent. Postremo, patres conscripti, si mehercule peccato locus esset, facile paterer vos ipsa re corrigi, quoniam verba contemnitis; sed undique circumventi sumus. Catilina cum exercitu faucibus urget, alii intra moenia atque in sinu urbis sunt hostes; neque parari neque consuli quicquam potest occulte: quo magis properandum est."

PART THREE

CICERONIS EPISTULAE

1

Scr. Romae m. Quint. a. 689 (65).

Cicero Attico Sal.

Petitionis nostrae, quam tibi summae curae esse scio, huius modi ratio est quod adhuc coniectura provideri possit. Prensat unus P. Galba. Sine fuco ac fallaciis more maiorum negatur. Ut opiniost hominum, non aliena rationi nostrae fuit illius haec praepropera prensatio. Nam illi ita negant vulgo, ut mihi se debere dicant. Ita quiddam spero nobis profici, cum hoc percrebrescit, plurimos nostros amicos inveniri. Nos autem initium prensandi facere cogitaramus eo ipso tempore quo tuum puerum cum his litteris proficisci Cincius dicebat, in campo comitiis tribuniciis a. d. XVI Kalend. Sextiles. Competitores, qui certi esse videantur, Galba et Antonius et Q. Cornificius. Puto te in hoc aut risisse aut ingemuisse. Ut frontem ferias, sunt qui etiam Caesonium putent. Aquilium non arbitrabamur, qui denegavit et iuravit morbum et illud suum regnum iudiciale opposuit. Catilina, si iudicatum erit meridie non lucere, certus erit competitor. De Aufidio et de Palicano non puto te exspectare dum scribam. De iis qui nunc petunt Caesar certus putatur. Thermus cum Silano contendere existimatur; qui sic inopes et ab amicis et existimatione sunt, ut

mihi videatur non esse *ἀδύνατον* Curium obducere. Sed hoc praeter me nemini videtur. Nostris rationibus maxime conducere videtur Thermum fieri cum Caesare. Nemo est enim ex iis qui nunc petunt qui, si in nostrum annum reciderit, firmior candidatus fore videatur, propterea quod curator est viae Flaminiae. Quae tum erit absoluta sane facile; eum libenter nunc Caesari consulem accuderim. Petitorum haec est adhuc informata cogitatio. Nos in omni munere candidatorio fungendo summam adhibebimus diligentiam et fortasse, quoniam videtur in suffragiis multum posse Gallia, cum Romae a iudiciis forum refrixerit, excurremus mense Septembri legati ad Pisonem ut Ianuario revertamur. Cum perspexero voluntates nobilium, scribam ad te. Cetera spero prolixa esse his dumtaxat urbanis competitoribus. Illam manum tu mihi cura ut praestes, quoniam propius abes, Pompei, nostri amici. Nega me ei iratum fore, si ad mea comitia non venerit. Atque haec huius modi sunt.

Sed est quod abs te mihi ignosci pervelim. Caecilius, avunculus tuus, a P. Vario cum magna pecunia fraudaretur, agere coepit cum eius fratre A. Caninio Satyro de iis rebus quas eum dolo malo mancipio accepisse de Vario diceret. Una agebant ceteri creditores, in quibus erat *L.* Lucullus et P. Scipio et is, quem putabant magistrum fore, si bona venirent, L. Pontius. Verum hoc ridiculum est de magistro. Nunc cognosce rem. Rogavit me Caecilius ut adessem contra Satyrum. Dies fere nullus est quin hic Satyrus domum meam ventitet; observat L. Domitium maxime, me habet proximum; fuit et mihi et Quinto fratri magno usui in nostris petitionibus. Sane sum perturbatus cum ipsius Satyri familiaritate tum Domiti, in quo uno maxime ambitio nostra nititur. Demonstravi haec Caecilio simul et

illud ostendi, si ipse unus cum illo uno contenderet, me ei satis facturum fuisse; nunc in causa universorum creditorum, hominum praesertim amplissimorum, qui sine eo quem Caecilius suo nomine perhiberet facile causam communem sustinerent, aequum esse eum et officio meo consulere et tempori. Durius accipere hoc mihi visus est quam vellem et quam homines belli solent, et postea prorsus ab instituta nostra paucorum dierum consuetudine longe refugit.

Abs te peto, ut mihi hoc ignoscas et me existimes humanitate esse prohibitum ne contra amici summam existimationem miserrimo eius tempore venirem, cum is omnia sua studia et officia in me contulisset. Quodsi voles in me esse durior, ambitionem putabis mihi obstitisse. Ego autem arbitror, etiamsi id sit, mihi ignoscendum esse,

'ἐπεὶ οὐχ ἱερήιον οὐδὲ βοείην'.

Vides enim in quo cursu simus et quam omnes gratias non modo retinendas verum etiam acquirendas putemus. Spero tibi me causam probasse, cupio quidem certe.

Hermathena tua valde me delectat et posita ita belle est ut totum gymnasium eius ἀνάθημα esse videatur. Multum te amamus.

2

Scr. Romae ex m. Nov. aut in. Dec. a. 692 (62).

M. Cicero S. D. C. Antonio M. F. Imp.

Etsi statueram nullas ad te litteras mittere nisi commendaticias (non quo eas intellegerem satis apud te valere, sed ne iis qui me rogarent aliquid de nostra coniunctione imminutum esse ostenderem), tamen, cum T. Pomponius, homo omnium meorum in te studiorum et officiorum maxime

conscius, tui cupidus, nostri amantissimus, ad te proficisceretur, aliquid mihi scribendum putavi, praesertim cum aliter ipsi Pomponio satis facere non possem.

Ego si abs te summa officia desiderem, mirum nemini videri debeat. Omnia enim a me in te profecta sunt, quae ad tuum commodum, quae ad honorem, quae ad dignitatem pertinerent. Pro his rebus nullam mihi abs te relatam esse gratiam tu es optimus testis, contra etiam esse aliquid abs te profectum ex multis audivi; nam 'comperisse' me non audeo dicere, ne forte id ipsum verbum ponam, quod abs te aiunt falso in me solere conferri. Sed ea, quae ad me delata sunt, malo te ex Pomponio, cui non minus molesta fuerunt, quam ex meis litteris cognoscere. Meus in te animus quam singulari officio fuerit, et senatus et p. R. testis est; tu quam gratus erga me fueris, ipse existimare potes; quantum mihi debeas, ceteri existimant. Ego quae tua causa antea feci, voluntate sum adductus posteaque constantia; sed reliqua, mihi crede, multo maius meum studium maioremque gravitatem et laborem desiderant. Quae ego si non profundere ac perdere videbor, omnibus meis viribus sustinebo; sin autem ingrata esse sentiam, non committam, ut tibi ipsi insanire videar. Ea quae sint et cuius modi, poteris ex Pomponio cognoscere. Atque ipsum tibi Pomponium ita commendo ut, quamquam ipsius causa confido te facturum esse omnia, tamen abs te hoc petam ut, si quid in te residet amoris erga me, id omne in Pomponi negotio ostendas. Hoc mihi nihil gratius facere potes.

3

Scr. Romae m. April. a. 692 (62).

M. Tullius M. F. Cicero S. D. CN. Pompeio CN. F. Magno Imperatori.

S. T. E. Q. V. B. E. Ex litteris tuis quas publice misisti cepi una cum omnibus incredibilem voluptatem; tantam enim spem otii ostendisti quantam ego semper omnibus te uno fretus pollicebar. Sed hoc scito, tuos veteres hostis, novos amicos vehementer litteris perculsos atque ex magna spe deturbatos iacere. Ad me autem litteras quas misisti, quamquam exiguam significationem tuae erga me voluntatis habebant, tamen mihi scito iucundas fuisse; nulla enim re tam laetari soleo quam meorum officiorum conscientia; quibus si quando non mutue respondetur, apud me plus officii residere facillime patior. Illud non dubito quin, si te mea summa erga te studia parum mihi adiunxerint, res publica nos inter nos conciliatura coniuncturaque sit. Ac ne ignores quid ego in tuis litteris desiderarim, scribam aperte, sicut et mea natura et nostra amicitia postulat. Res eas gessi quarum aliquam in tuis litteris et nostrae necessitudinis et rei p. causa gratulationem exspectavi; quam ego abs te praetermissam esse arbitror, quod vererere ne cuius animum offenderes. Sed scito ea quae nos pro salute patriae gessimus orbis terrae iudicio ac testimonio comprobari; quae, cum veneris, tanto consilio tantaque animi magnitudine a me gesta esse cognosces ut tibi multo maiori quam Africanus fuit me non multo minorem quam Laelium facile et in re p. et in amicitia adiunctum esse patiare.

4

Scr. Romae Id. Febr. a. 693 (61).

Cicero Attico Sal.

Vereor ne putidum sit scribere ad te quam sim occupatus, sed tamen ita distinebar ut huic vix tantulae epistulae tempus habuerim atque id ereptum e summis occupationibus. Prima contio Pompei qualis fuisset scripsi ad te antea, non iucunda miseris, inanis improbis, beatis non grata, bonis non gravis; itaque frigebat. Tum Pisonis consulis impulsu levissimus tribunus pl. Fufius in contionem producit Pompeium. Res agebatur in circo Flaminio et erat in eo ipso loco illo die nundinarum πανήγυρις. Quaesivit ex eo placeretne ei iudices a praetore legi, quo consilio idem praetor uteretur. Id autem erat de Clodiana religione ab senatu constitutum. Tum Pompeius μάλ' ἀριστοκρατικῶς locutus est senatusque auctoritatem sibi omnibus in rebus maximam videri semperque visam esse respondit et id multis verbis. Postea Messalla consul in senatu de Pompeio quaesivit quid de religione et de promulgata rogatione sentiret. Locutus ita est in senatu ut omnia illius ordinis consulta γενικῶς laudaret mihique, ut adsedit, dixit se putare satis ab se etiam 'de istis rebus' esse responsum. Crassus postea- quam vidit illum excepisse laudem ex eo quod suspicarentur homines ei consulatum meum placere, surrexit ornatissimeque de meo consulatu locutus est, ut ita diceret, 'se quod esset senator, quod civis, quod liber, quod viveret, mihi acceptum referre; quotiens coniugem, quotiens domum, quotiens patriam videret, totiens se beneficium meum videre.' Quid multa? totum hunc locum quem ego varie meis orationibus, quarum tu Aristarchus es, soleo pingere,

de flamma, de ferro (nosti illas ληκύθους), valde graviter pertexuit. Proximus Pompeium sedebam. Intellexi hominem moveri, Crassum inire eam gratiam quam ipse praetermisisset, an esse tantas res nostras quae tam libenti senatu laudarentur, ab eo praesertim qui mihi laudam illam eo minus deberet quod meis omnibus litteris in Pompeiana laude perstrictus esset. Hic dies me valde Crasso adiunxit, et tamen ab illo aperte tecte quicquid est datum, libenter accepi. Ego autem ipsi, di boni! quo modo ἐνεπερπερευσάμην novo auditori Pompeio! Si umquam mihi περίοδοι, si καμπαί, si ἐνθυμήματα, si κατασκευαὶ suppeditaverunt, illo tempore. Quid multa? clamores. Etenim haec erat ὑπόθεσις, de gravitate ordinis, de equestri concordia, de consensione Italiae, de intermortuis reliquiis coniurationis, de vilitate, de otio. Nosti iam in hac materia sonitus nostros. Tanti fuerunt ut ego eo brevior sim quod eos usque istinc exauditos putem.

Romanae autem se res sic habent. Senatus Ἄρειος πάγος; nihil constantius, nihil severius, nihil fortius. Nam cum dies venisset rogationi ex senatus consulto ferendae, concursabant barbatuli iuvenes, totus ille grex Catilinae, duce filiola Curionis et populum ut antiquaret rogabant. Piso autem consul lator rogationis idem erat dissuasor. Operae Clodianae pontes occuparant, tabellae ministrabantur ita ut nulla daretur 'VTI ROGAS.' Hic tibi *in* rostra Cato advolat, convicium Pisoni consuli mirificum facit, si id est convicium, vox plena gravitatis, plena auctoritatis, plena denique salutis. Accedit eodem etiam noster Hortensius, multi praeterea boni; insignis vero opera Favoni fuit. Hoc concursu optimatium comitia dimittuntur, senatus vocatur. Cum decerneretur frequenti senatu contra pugnante Pisone, ad pedes omnium singillatim accidenti Clodio, ut consules

populum cohortarentur ad rogationem accipiendam, homines ad quindecim Curioni nullum senatus consultum facienti adsenserunt; ex altera parte facile CCCC fuerunt. Acta res est. Fufius tribunus tum concessit. Clodius contiones miseras habebat, in quibus Lucullum, Hortensium, C. Pisonem, Messallam consulem contumeliose laedebat; me tantum 'comperisse' omnia criminabatur. Senatus et de provinciis praetorum et de legationibus et de ceteris rebus decernebat ut antequam rogatio lata esset ne quid ageretur. Habes res Romanas. Sed tamen etiam illud quod non speraram audi. Messalla consul est egregius, fortis, constans, diligens, nostri laudator, amator, imitator. Ille alter uno vitio minus vitiosus quod iners, quod somni plenus, quod imperitus, quod ἀπρακτότατος, sed voluntate ita κακίστης ut Pompeium post illam contionem in qua ab eo senatus laudatus est odisse coeperit. Itaque mirum in modum omnes a se bonos alienavit. Neque id magis amicitia Clodi adductus fecit quam studio perditarum rerum atque partium. Sed habet sui similem in magistratibus praeter Fufium neminem. Bonis utimur tribunis pl., Cornuto vero Pseudocatone. Quid quaeris?

Nunc ut ad privata redeam, Τεῦκρις promissa patravit. Tu mandata effice, quae recepisti. Quintus frater, qui Argiletani aedificii reliquum dodrantem emit HS $\overline{\text{DCCXXV}}$, Tusculanum venditat, ut, si possit, emat Pacilianam domum. Cum Lucceio in gratiam redii. Video hominem valde petiturire. Navabo operam. Tu quid agas, ubi sis, cuius modi istae res sint, fac me quam diligentissime certiorem. Idibus Febr.

5

Scr. ad villam m. Dec. a. 694 (60).

Cicero Attico Sal.

Venio nunc ad mensem Ianuarium et ad ὑπόστασιν nostram ac πολιτείαν in qua Σωκρατικῶς εἰς ἑκάτερον sed tamen ad extremum, ut illi solebant, τὴν ἀρέσκουσαν. Est res sane magni consilii; nam aut fortiter resistendum est legi agrariae, in quo est quaedam dimicatio sed plena laudis, aut quiescendum, quod est non dissimile atque ire in Solonium aut Antium, aut etiam adiuvandum, quod a me aiunt Caesarem sic expectare ut non dubitet. Nam fuit apud me Cornelius, hunc dico Balbum, Caesaris familiarem. Is adfirmabat illum omnibus in rebus meo et Pompei consilio usurum, daturumque operam ut cum Pompeio Crassum coniungeret. Hic sunt haec, coniunctio mihi summa cum Pompeio, si placet, etiam cum Caesare, reditus in gratiam cum inimicis, pax cum multitudine, senectutis otium. Sed me κατακλεὶς mea illa commovet, quae est in libro tertio:

'Interea cursus quos prima a parte iuventae
Quosque adeo consul virtute animoque petisti,
Hos retine atque auge famam laudesque bonorum.'

Haec mihi cum in eo libro in quo multa sunt scripta ἀριστοκρατικῶς Calliope ipsa praescripserit, non opinor esse dubitandum quin semper nobis videatur

'εἷς οἰωνὸς ἄριστος ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πάτρης.'

Sed haec ambulationibus Compitaliciis reservemus. Tu pridie Compitalia memento. Balineum calfieri iubebo. Et Pomponiam Terentia rogat; matrem adiungemus. Θεοφράστου περὶ φιλοτιμίας adfer mihi de libris Quinti fratris.

6

Scr. Romae post VIII K. Sext., ante XV K. Nov. a. 695 (59).

Cicero Attico Sal.

De re publica quid ego tibi subtiliter? Tota periit atque hoc est miserior quam reliquisti, quod tum videbatur eius modi dominatio civitatem oppressisse quae iucunda esset multitudini, bonis autem ita molesta ut tamen sine pernicie, nunc repente tanto in odio est omnibus ut quorsus eruptura sit horreamus. Nam iracundiam atque intemperantiam illorum sumus experti qui Catoni irati omnia perdiderunt, sed ita lenibus uti videbantur venenis ut posse videremur sine dolore interire; nunc vero sibilis volgi, sermonibus honestorum, fremitu Italiae vereor ne exarserint. Equidem sperabam, ut saepe etiam loqui tecum solebam, sic orbem rei publicae esse conversum ut vix sonitum audire, vix impressam orbitam videre possemus; et fuisset ita, si homines transitum tempestatis expectare potuissent. Sed cum diu occulte suspirassent, postea iam gemere, ad extremum vero loqui omnes et clamare coeperunt. Itaque ille amicus noster insolens infamiae, semper in laude versatus, circumfluens gloria, deformatus corpore, fractus animo, quo se conferat nescit; progressum praecipitem, inconstantem reditum videt; bonos inimicos habet, improbos ipsos non amicos. Ac vide mollitiem animi. Non tenui lacrimas cum illum a. d. VIII Kal. Sextiles vidi de edictis Bibuli contionantem. Qui antea solitus esset iactare se magnificentissime illo in loco summo cum amore populi, cunctis faventibus, ut ille tum humilis, ut demissus erat, ut ipse etiam sibi, non iis solum qui aderant, displicebat! O spectaculum uni Crasso iucundum, ceteris non item! Nam

quia deciderat ex astris, lapsus quam progressus potius videbatur et, ut Apelles, si Venerem, aut Protogenes, si Ialysum illum suum caeno oblitum videret, magnum, credo, acciperet dolorem, sic ego hunc omnibus a me pictum et politum artis coloribus subito deformatum non sine magno dolore vidi. Quamquam nemo putabat propter Clodianum negotium me illi amicum esse debere, tamen tantus fuit amor ut exhauriri nulla posset iniuria. Itaque Archilochia in illum edicta Bibuli populo ita sunt iucunda ut eum locum ubi proponuntur prae multitudine eorum qui legunt transire nequeamus, ipsi ita acerba ut tabescat dolore, mihi mehercule molesta, quod et eum quem semper dilexi nimis excruciant et timeo tam vehemens vir tamque acer in ferro et tam insuetus contumeliae ne omni animi impetu dolori et iracundiae pareat.

Bibuli qui sit exitus futurus nescio. Ut nunc res se habet, admirabili gloria est. Qui cum comitia in mensem Octobrem distulisset, quod solet ea res populi voluntatem offendere, putarat Caesar oratione sua posse impelli contionem ut iret ad Bibulum; multa cum seditiosissime diceret, vocem exprimere non potuit. Quid quaeris? sentiunt se nullam ullius partis voluntatem tenere. Eo magis vis nobis est timenda.

Clodius inimicus est nobis. Pompeius confirmat eum nihil esse facturum contra me. Mihi periculosum est credere, ad resistendum me paro. Studia spero me summa habiturum omnium ordinum. Te cum ego desidero, tum vero res ad tempus illud vocat. Plurimum consilii, animi, praesidii denique mihi, si te ad tempus videro, accesserit. Varro mihi satis facit. Pompeius loquitur divinitus. Spero nos aut cum summa gloria aut certe sine molestia discessuros. Tu quid agas, quem ad modum te oblectes, quid cum Sicyoniis egeris ut sciam cura.

7

Scr. Thuriis IIII Id. Apr., ut videtur, a. 696 (58).

Cicero Attico Sal.

Terentia tibi et saepe et maximas agit gratias. Id est mihi gratissimum. Ego vivo miserrimus et maximo dolore conficior. Ad te quid scribam nescio. Si enim es Romae, iam me adsequi non potes; sin es in via, cum eris me adsecutus, coram agemus quae erunt agenda. Tantum te oro ut, quoniam me ipsum semper amasti, nunc eodem amore sis; ego enim idem sum. Inimici mei mea mihi, non me ipsum ademerunt. Cura ut valeas. Data IIII Idus April. Thuri.

8

Scr. Brundisi pr. K. Mai. a. 696 (58).

Tullius S. D. Terentiae et Tulliae et Ciceroni suis.

Ego minus saepe do ad vos litteras quam possum, propterea quod cum omnia mihi tempora sunt misera, tum vero, cum aut scribo ad vos aut vestras lego, conficior lacrimis sic ut ferre non possim. Quod utinam minus vitae cupidi fuissemus! certe nihil aut non multum in vita mali vidissemus. Quodsi nos ad aliquam alicuius commodi aliquando recuperandi spem fortuna reservavit, minus est erratum a nobis; si haec mala fixa sunt, ego vero te quam primum, mea vita, cupio videre et in tuo complexu emori, quoniam neque dii quos tu castissime coluisti neque homines quibus ego semper servivi nobis gratiam rettulerunt.

Nos Brundisi apud M. Laenium Flaccum dies XIII fuimus, virum optimum, qui periculum fortunarum et capitis sui

prae mea salute neglexit neque legis improbissimae poena deductus est quo minus hospitii et amicitiae ius officiumque praestaret. Huic utinam aliquando gratiam referre possimus! habebimus quidem semper. Brundisio profecti sumus a. d. II K. Mai.; per Macedoniam Cyzicum petebamus.

O me perditum, o afflictum! Quid nunc rogem te ut venias, mulierem aegram et corpore et animo confectam? Non rogem? sine te igitur sim? Opinor, sic agam: Si est spes nostri redituṣ, eam confirmes et rem adiuves; sin, ut ego metuo, transactum est, quoquo modo potes ad me fac venias. Unum hoc scito: Si te habebo, non mihi videbor plane perisse. Sed quid Tulliola mea fiet? Iam id vos videte; mihi deest consilium. Sed certe, quoquo modo se res habebit, illius misellae et matrimonio et famae serviendum est. Quid? Cicero meus quid aget? Iste vero sit in sinu semper et complexu meo. Non queo plura iam scribere; inpedit maeror. Tu quid egeris nescio; utrum aliquid teneas an, quod metuo, plane sis spoliata. Pisonem, ut scribis, spero fore semper nostrum. De familia liberata nihil est quod te moveat. Primum tuis ita promissum est te facturam esse ut quisque esset meritus; est autem in officio adhuc Orpheus, praeterea magnopere nemo; ceterorum servorum ea causa est ut, si res a nobis abisset, liberti nostri essent, si optinere potuissent; sin ad nos pertinerent, servirent praeterquam oppido pauci. Sed haec minora sunt.

Tu quod me hortaris ut animo sim magno et spem habeam recuperandae salutis, id velim sit eius modi ut recte sperare possimus. Nunc miser quando tuas iam litteras accipiam? quis ad me perferet? Quas ego exspectassem Brundisi, si esset licitum per nautas qui tempestatem praetermittere noluerunt. Quod reliquum est, sustenta te, mea Terentia, ut potes honestissime. Viximus, floruimus; non vitium

nostrum sed virtus nostra nos adflixit; peccatum est nullum, nisi quod non una animam cum ornamentis amisimus. Sed si hoc fuit liberis nostris gratius nos vivere, cetera, quamquam ferenda non sunt, feramus. Atqui ego qui te confirmo ipse me non possum. Clodium Philhetaerum, quod valetudine oculorum impediebatur, hominem fidelem, remisi. Salustius officio vincit omnes. Pescennius est perbenivolus nobis; quem semper spero tui fore observantem. Sicca dixerat se mecum fore sed Brundisio discessit. Cura, quod potes, ut valeas et sic existimes me vehementius tua miseria quam mea commoveri. Mea Terentia, fidissima atque optima uxor, et mea carissima filiola et spes reliqua nostra, Cicero, valete. Pr. K. Mai. Brundisio.

9

Scr. Romae med. m. Sept. a. 697 (57).

Cicero Attico Sal.

Cum primum Romam veni fuitque cui recte ad te litteras darem, nihil prius faciendum mihi putavi quam ut tibi absenti de reditu nostro gratularer. Cognoram enim, ut vere scribam, te in consiliis mihi dandis nec fortiorem nec prudentiorem quam me ipsum nec etiam pro praeterita mea in te observantia nimium in custodia salutis meae diligentem eundemque te, qui primis temporibus erroris nostri aut potius furoris particeps et falsi timoris socius fuisses, acerbissime discidium nostrum tulisse plurimumque operae, studii, diligentiae, laboris ad conficiendum reditum meum contulisse. Itaque hoc tibi vere adfirmo, in maxima laetitia et exoptatissima gratulatione unum ad cumulandum gaudium conspectum aut potius complexum mihi tuum defuisse.

Quem semel nactus si umquam dimisero ac nisi etiam praetermissos fructus tuae suavitatis praeteriti temporis omnes exegero, profecto hac restitutione fortunae me ipse non satis dignum iudicabo.

Nos adhuc, in nostro statu quod difficillime recuperari posse arbitrati sumus, splendorem nostrum illum forensem et in senatu auctoritatem et apud viros bonos gratiam magis quam optaramus consecuti sumus; in re autem familiari, quae quem ad modum fracta, dissipata, direpta sit non ignoras, valde laboramus tuarumque non tam facultatum quas ego nostras esse iudico quam consiliorum ad colligendas et constituendas reliquias nostras indigemus.

Nunc etsi omnia aut scripta esse a tuis arbitror aut etiam nuntiis ac rumore perlata, tamen ea scribam brevi quae te puto potissimum ex meis litteris velle cognoscere. Pr. Nonas Sextiles Dyrrachio sum profectus ipso illo die quo lex est lata de nobis. Brundisium veni Nonis Sextilibus. Ibi mihi Tulliola mea fuit praesto natali suo ipso die qui casu idem natalis erat et Brundisinae coloniae et tuae vicinae Salutis; quae res animadversa *a* multitudine summa Brundisinorum gratulatione celebrata est. Ante diem VI Idus Sextiles cognovi, quom Brundisi essem, litteris Quinti mirifico studio omnium aetatum atque ordinum, incredibili concursu Italiae legem comitiis centuriatis esse perlatam. Inde a Brundisinis honestissimis ornatus iter ita feci ut undique ad me cum gratulatione legati convenerint. Ad urbem ita veni ut nemo ullius ordinis homo nomenclatori notus fuerit qui mihi obviam non venerit, praeter eos inimicos, quibus id ipsum, se inimicos esse, non liceret aut dissimulare aut negare. Cum venissem ad portam Capenam, gradus templorum ab infima plebe completi erant. A qua plausu maximo cum esset mihi gratulatio significata,

similis et frequentia et plausus me usque ad Capitolium celebravit in foroque et in ipso Capitolio miranda multitudo fuit.

Postridie in senatu qui fuit dies Nonarum Septembr., senatui gratias egimus. Eo biduo cum esset annonae summa caritas et homines ad theatrum primo, deinde ad senatum concurrissent, impulsu Clodi mea opera frumenti inopiam esse clamarent, cum per eos dies senatus de annona haberetur et ad eius procurationem sermone non solum plebis verum etiam bonorum Pompeius vocaretur idque ipse cuperet multitudoque a me nominatim ut id decernerem postularet, feci et accurate sententiam dixi. Cum abessent consulares, quod tuto se negarent posse sententiam dicere, praeter Messallam et Afranium, factum est senatus consultum in meam sententiam ut cum Pompeio ageretur ut eam rem susciperet lexque ferretur. Quo senatus consulto recitato cum *populus* more hoc insulso et novo plausum meo nomine recitando dedisset, habui contionem. Omnes magistratus praesentes praeter unum praetorem et duos tribunos pl. dederunt. Postridie senatus frequens et omnes consulares nihil Pompeio postulanti negarunt. Ille legatos quindecim cum postularet, me principem nominavit et *ad* omnia me alterum se fore dixit. Legem consules conscripserunt qua Pompeio per quinquennium omnis potestas rei frumentariae toto orbe terrarum daretur, alteram Messius qui omnis pecuniae dat potestatem et adiungit classem et exercitum et maius imperium in provinciis quam sit eorum qui eas obtineant. Illa nostra lex consularis nunc modesta videtur, haec Messi non ferenda. Pompeius illam velle se dicit, familiares hanc. Consulares duce Favonio fremunt; nos tacemus et eo magis quod de domo nostra nihil adhuc pontifices responderunt. Qui si sustulerint religionem, aream

praeclaram habebimus; superficiem consules ex senatus consulto aestimabunt; sin aliter, demolientur, suo nomine locabunt, rem totam aestimabunt.

Ita sunt res nostrae,

'Ut in secundis flúxae, ut in advorsís bonae.'

In re familiari valde sumus, ut scis, perturbati. Praeterea sunt quaedam domestica quae litteris non committo. Quintum fratrem insigni pietate, virtute, fide praeditum sic amo ut debeo. Te exspecto et oro ut matures venire eoque animo venias ut me tuo consilio egere non sinas. Alterius vitae quoddam initium ordimur. Iam quidam qui nos absentes defenderunt incipiunt praesentibus occulte irasci, aperte invidere. Vehementer te requirimus.

10

Scr. Romae VIII K. Dec. a. 697 (57).

Cicero Attico Sal.

Avere te certo scio cum scire quid hic agatur, tum mea a me scire, non quo certiora sint ea quae in oculis omnium geruntur si a me scribantur quam cum ab aliis aut scribantur tibi aut nuntientur, sed ut perspicias ex meis litteris quo animo ea feram quae geruntur et qui sit hoc tempore aut mentis meae sensus aut omnino vitae status.

Armatis hominibus ante diem tertium Nonas Novembres expulsi sunt fabri de area nostra, disturbata porticus Catuli quae ex senatus consulto consulum locatione reficiebatur et ad tectum paena pervenerat, Quinti fratris domus primo fracta coniectu lapidum ex area nostra, deinde inflammata iussu Clodi, inspectante urbe coniectis ignibus, magna querela et gemitu non dicam bonorum, qui nescio an nulli

sint, sed plane hominum omnium. Ille demens ruere, post hunc vero furorem nihil nisi caedem inimicorum cogitare, vicatim ambire, servis aperte spem libertatis ostendere. Etenim antea cum iudicium tollebat, habebat ille quidem difficilem manifestamque causam sed tamen causam; poterat infitiari, poterat in alios derivare, poterat etiam aliquid iure factum defendere; post has ruinas, incendia, rapinas desertus a suis vix iam Decimum designatorem, vix Gellium retinet, servorum consiliis utitur, videt, si omnes quos vult palam occiderit, nihilo suam causam difficiliorem quam adhuc sit in iudicio futuram. Itaque ante diem tertium Idus Novembres, cum Sacra via descenderem, insecutus est me cum suis. Clamor, lapides, fustes, gladii, haec improvisa omnia. Discessimus in vestibulum Tetti Damionis. Qui erant mecum facile operas aditu prohibuerunt. Ipse occidi potuit sed ego diaeta curare incipio, chirurgiae taedet. Ille omnium vocibus cum se non ad iudicium sed ad supplicium praesens trudi videret, omnes Catilinas Acidinos postea reddidit. Nam Milonis domum, eam quae *est in* Cermalo, pr. Idus Novembr. expugnare et incendere ita conatus est ut palam hora quinta cum scutis homines eductis gladiis, alios cum accensis facibus adduxerit. Ipse domum P. Sullae pro castris sibi ad eam impugnationem sumpserat. Tum ex Anniana Milonis domo Q. Flaccus eduxit viros acris; occidit homines ex omni latrocinio Clodiano notissimos, ipsum cupivit, sed ille se in interiora aedium Sullae. Exin senatus postridie Idus. Domi Clodius. Egregius Marcellinus, omnes acres. Metellus calumnia dicendi tempus exemit adiuvante Appio, etiam hercule familiari tuo, de cuius constantia *et* virtute *tuae* verissimae litterae. Sestius furere. Ille postea, si comitia sua non fierent, urbi minari. *Milo* proposita Marcellini sententia quam ille de

scripto ita dixerat ut totam nostram causam areae, incendiorum, periculi mei iudicio complecteretur eaque omnia comitiis anteferret, proscripsit se per omnes dies comitiales de caelo servaturum. Contiones turbulentae Metelli, temerariae Appi, furiosissimae Publi. Haec tamen summa, nisi Milo in campo obnuntiasset, comitia futura. Ante diem XII Kal. Decembr. Milo ante mediam noctem cum magna manu in campum venit. Clodius cum haberet fugitivorum delectas copias, in campum ire non est ausus. Milo permansit ad meridiem mirifica hominum laetitia summa cum gloria. Contentio fratrum trium turpis, fracta vis, contemptus furor. Metellus tamen postulat ut sibi postero die in foro obnuntietur; nihil esse quod in campum nocte veniretur; se hora prima in comitio fore. Itaque ante diem XI Kal. in comitium Milo de nocte venit. Metellus cum prima luce furtim in campum itineribus prope deviis currebat; adsequitur inter vicos hominem Milo, obnuntiat. Ille se recepit magno et turpi Q. Flacci convicio. Ante diem X Kal. nundinae. Contio biduo nulla.

Ante diem VIII Kal. haec ego scribebam hora noctis nona. Milo campum iam tenebat. Marcellus candidatus ita stertebat ut ego vicinus audirem. Clodi vestibulum vacuum sane mihi nuntiabatur, pauci pannosi, linea lanterna. Meo consilio omnia illi fieri querebantur ignari quantum in illo heroe esset animi, quantum etiam consilii. Miranda virtus est. Nova quaedam divina mitto; sed haec summa est. Comitia fore non arbitror; reum Publium, nisi ante occisus erit, fore a Milone puto; si se in turba ei *obvi*am obtulerit, occisum iri ab ipso Milone video. Non dubitat facere, prae se fert; casum illum nostrum non extimescit. Numquam enim cuiusquam invidi et perfidi consilio est usurus nec inerti nobili crediturus.

Nos animo dumtaxat vigemus etiam magis *quam* cum florebamus, re familiari comminuti sumus. Quinti fratris tamen liberalitati pro facultatibus nostris, ne omnino exhaustus essem, illo recusante subsidiis amicorum respondimus. Quid consilii de omni nostro statu capiamus te absente nescimus. Quare adpropera.

11

Scr. Romae prid. Id. Febr. et XV K. Mart. a. 698 (56).

Marcus Quinto Fratri Salutem.

Scripsi ad te antea superiora; nunc cognosce postea quae sint acta. A Kal. Febr. legationes in Idus Febr. reiciebantur. Eo die res confecta non est. A. d. IIII Non. Febr. Milo adfuit. Ei Pompeius advocatus venit; dixit Marcellus a me rogatus; honeste discessimus; prodicta dies est in VIII Idus Febr. Interim reiectis legationibus in Idus referebatur de provinciis quaestorum et de ornandis praetoribus; sed res multis querelis de re publica interponendis nulla transacta est. C. Cato legem promulgavit de imperio Lentulo abrogando. Vestitum filius mutavit.

A. d. VIII Id. Febr. Milo adfuit. Dixit Pompeius sive voluit; nam ut surrexit, operae Clodianae clamorem sustulerunt idque ei perpetua oratione contigit non modo ut adclamatione sed ut convicio et maledictis impediretur. Qui ut peroravit (nam in eo sane fortis fuit; non est deterritus; dixit omnia atque interdum etiam silentio, cum auctoritate peregerat) sed ut peroravit, surrexit Clodius. Ei tantus clamor a nostris (placuerat enim referre gratiam) ut neque mente nec lingua neque ore consisteret. Ea res acta est, cum hora sexta vix Pompeius perorasset, usque ad

horam VIII, cum omnia maledicta, versus denique obscenissimi in Clodium et Clodiam dicerentur. Ille furens et exsanguis interrogabat suos in clamore ipso quis esset qui plebem fame necaret. Respondebant operae: 'Pompeius.' Quis Alexandream ire cuperet. Respondebant: 'Pompeius.' Quem ire vellent. Respondebant: 'Crassum.' Is aderat tum Miloni animo non amico. Hora fere nona quasi signo dato Clodiani nostros consputare coeperunt. Exarsit dolor. Urguere illi ut loco nos moverent. Factus est a nostris impetus; fuga operarum; eiectus de rostris Clodius ac nos quoque tum fugimus ne quid in turba. Senatus vocatus in curiam. Pompeius domum. Neque ego tamen in senatum, ne aut de tantis rebus tacerem aut in Pompeio defendendo (nam is carpebatur a Bibulo, Curione, Favonio, Servilio filio) animos bonorum virorum offenderem. Res in posterum dilata est. Clodius in Quirinalia prodixit diem.

A. d. VII Id. Febr. senatus ad Apollinis fuit ut Pompeius adesset. Acta res est graviter a Pompeio. Eo die nihil perfectum est. A. d. VI Id. Febr. ad Apollinis senatus consultum factum est ea quae facta essent a. d. VIII Id. Febr. contra rem publicam esse facta. Eo die Cato vehementer est in Pompeium invectus et eum oratione perpetua tamquam reum accusavit; de me multa me invito cum mea summa laude dixit; cum illius in me perfidiam increparet, auditus est magno silentio malevolorum. Respondit ei vehementer Pompeius Crassumque descripsit dixitque aperte se munitiorem ad custodiendam vitam suam fore quam Africanus fuisset quem C. Carbo interemisset. Itaque magnae mihi res iam moveri videbantur. Nam Pompeius haec intellegit nobiscumque communicat, insidias vitae suae fieri, C. Catonem a Crasso sustentari, Clodio pecuniam suppeditari, utrumque et ab eo et a Curione, Bibulo ceteris-

que suis obtrectatoribus confirmari; vehementer esse providendum ne opprimatur contionario illo populo a se prope alienato, nobilitate inimica, non aequo senatu, iuventute improba. Itaque se comparat, homines ex agris accersit; operas autem suas Clodius confirmat; manus ad Quirinalia paratur. In eo multo sumus superiores ipsius copiis; sed magna manus ex Piceno et Gallia expectatur ut etiam Catonis rogationibus de Milone et Lentulo resistamus.

12

Scr. Romae m. Apr. a. 700 (54).

Cicero Caesari Imp. S. D.

Vide quam mihi persuaserim te me esse alterum non modo in iis rebus quae ad me ipsum sed etiam in iis quae ad meos pertinent. C. Trebatium cogitaram quocumque exirem mecum ducere ut eum meis omnibus studiis, beneficiis quam ornatissimum domum reducerem; sed posteaquam et Pompei commoratio diuturnior erat, quam putaram et mea quaedam tibi non ignota dubitatio aut impedire profectionem meam videbatur aut certe tardare (vide quid mihi sumpserim), coepi velle ea Trebatium exspectare a te quae sperasset a me neque mehercule minus ei prolixe de tua voluntate promisi quam eram solitus de mea polliceri. Casus vero mirificus quidam intervenit quasi vel testis opinionis meae vel sponsor humanitatis tuae. Nam, cum de hoc ipso Trebatio cum Balbo nostro loquerer accuratius domi meae, litterae mihi dantur a te quibus in extremis scriptum erat: 'M. Iteium quem mihi commendas vel regem Galliae faciam vel hunc Leptae delega, si vis. Tu ad me alium mitte quem ornem.' Sustulimus manus et ego et Balbus. Tanta fuit

opportunitas ut illud nescio quid non fortuitum sed divinum videretur. Mitto igitur ad te Trebatium atque ita mitto ut initio mea sponte, post autem invitatu tuo mittendum duxerim. Hunc, mi Caesar, sic velim omni tua comitate complectare ut omnia quae per me possis adduci ut in meos conferre velis in unum hunc conferas. De quo tibi homine haec spondeo non illo vetere verbo meo quod cum ad te de Milone scripsissem iure lusisti, sed more Romano quo modo homines non inepti locuntur probiorem hominem, meliorem virum, pudentiorem esse neminem; accedit etiam quod familiam ducit in iure civili singulari memoria, summa scientia. Huic ego neque tribunatum neque praefecturam neque ullius beneficii certum nomen peto, benevolentiam tuam et liberalitatem peto neque impedio quo minus, si tibi ita placuerit, etiam hisce eum ornes gloriolae insignibus; totum denique hominem tibi ita trado 'de manu,' ut aiunt, 'in manum' tuam istam et victoria et fide praestantem. Simus enim putidiusculi, *quam*quam per te vix licet; verum, ut video, licebit. Cura ut valeas et me, ut amas, ama.

13

Scr. Romae ex. m. Dec. a. 700 (54).

M. Cicero S. D. Trebatio.

Legi tuas litteras ex quibus intellexi te Caesari nostro valde iureconsultum videri. Est quod gaudeas te in ista loca venisse ubi aliquid sapere viderere. Quodsi in Britanniam quoque profectus esses, profecto nemo in illa tanta insula peritior te fuisset. Verum tamen (rideamus licet; sum enim a te invitatus) subinvideo tibi ultro etiam accersitum ab eo ad quem ceteri non propter superbiam eius sed

propter occupationem adspirare non possunt. Sed tu in ista epistula nihil mihi scripsisti de tuis rebus quae mehercule mihi non minori curae sunt quam meae. Valde metuo, ne frigeas in hibernis. Quam ob rem camino luculento utendum censeo (idem Mucio et Manilio placebat), praesertim qui sagis non abundares. Quamquam vos nunc istic satis calere audio; quo quidem nuntio valde mehercule de te timueram. Sed tu in re militari multo es cautior quam in advocationibus qui neque in Oceano natare volueris, studiosissimus homo natandi, neque spectare essedarios, quem antea ne andabata quidem defraudare poteramus. Sed iam satis iocati sumus.

Ego de te ad Caesarem quam diligenter scripserim tute scis, quam saepe, ego; sed mehercule iam intermiseram ne viderer liberalissimi hominis meique amantissimi voluntati erga me diffidere. Sed tamen iis litteris quas proxime dedi putavi esse hominem commonendum. Id feci; quid profecerim facias me velim certiorem et simul de toto statu tuo consiliisque omnibus; scire enim cupio quid agas, quid exspectes, quam longum istum tuum discessum a nobis futurum putes. Sic enim tibi persuadeas velim unum mihi esse solacium, quare facilius possim pati te esse sine nobis, si tibi esse id emolumento sciam; sin autem id non est, nihil duobus nobis est stultius, me qui te non Romam attraham, te, qui non huc advoles. Una mehercule nostra vel severa vel iocosa congressio pluris erit quam non modo hostes sed etiam fratres nostri Haedui. Quare omnibus de rebus fac ut quam primum sciam.

'Aut cónsolando aut cónsilio aut re iúvero.'

14

Scr. in itinere a Synnada ad Philomelium inter a. d. V et III Id. Sext. a. 703 (51).

Cicero Attico Sal.

Etsi in ipso itinere et via discedebant publicanorum tabellarii et eramus in cursu, tamen surripiendum aliquid putavi spatii ne me immemorem mandati tui putares. Itaque subsedi in ipsa via, dum haec quae longiorem desiderant orationem summatim tibi perscriberem. Maxima exspectatione in perditam et plane eversam in perpetuum provinciam nos venisse scito pridie Kal. Sextiles, moratos triduum Laodiceae, triduum Apameae, totidem dies Synnade. Audivimus nihil aliud nisi imperata ἐπικεφάλαια solvere non posse, ὠνὰς omnium venditas, civitatum gemitus, ploratus, monstra quaedam non hominis sed ferae nescio cuius immanis. Quid quaeris? taedet omnino eos vitae. Levantur tamen miserae civitates quod nullus fit sumptus in nos neque in legatos neque in quaestorem neque in quemquam. Scito non modo nos foenum aut quod e lege Iulia dari solet non accipere sed ne ligna quidem, nec praeter quattuor lectos et tectum quemquam accipere quicquam, multis locis ne tectum quidem, et in tabernaculo manere plerumque. Itaque incredibilem in modum concursus fiunt ex agris, ex vicis, ex domibus omnibus. Mehercule etiam adventu nostro reviviscunt. Iustitia, abstinentia, clementia tui Ciceronis opiniones omnium superavit. Appius, ut audivit nos venire, in ultimam provinciam se coniecit Tarsum usque. Ibi forum agit. De Partho silentium est, sed tamen concisos equites nostros a barbaris nuntiabant ii qui veniebant. Bibulus ne cogitabat quidem

etiam nunc in provinciam suam accedere; id autem facere ob eam causam dicebant, quod tardius vellet decedere. Nos in castra properabamus quae aberant tridui.

15

Scr. in Cilicia inter a. d. XII et IV K. Ian. a. 703 (51).

Cicero Attico Sal.

Saturnalibus mane se mihi Pindenissitae dediderunt septimo et quinquagesimo die postquam oppugnare eos coepimus. 'Qui, malum! isti Pindenissitae qui sunt?' inquies; 'nomen audivi numquam.' Quid ego faciam? num potui Ciliciam Aetoliam aut Macedoniam reddere? Hoc iam sic habeto nec hoc exercitu *nec* hic tanta negotia geri potuisse. Quae cognosce ἐν ἐπιτομῇ; sic enim concedis mihi proxumis litteris. Ephesum ut venerim nosti, qui etiam mihi gratulatus es illius diei celebritatem qua nihil me umquam delectavit magis. Inde *in* oppidis iis qua *iter* erat mirabiliter accepti Laodiceam pridie Kal. Sextiles venimus. Ibi morati biduum perillustres fuimus honorificisque verbis omnes iniurias revellimus superiores, quod idem *Colossis*, dein Apameae quinque dies morati et Synnadis triduum, Philomeli quinque dies, Iconi decem fecimus. Nihil ea iuris dictione aequabilius, nihil lenius, nihil gravius. Inde in castra veni a. d. VII Kalendas Septembres. A. d. III exercitum lustravi apud Iconium. Ex his castris, cum graves de Parthis nuntii venirent, perrexi in Ciliciam per Cappadociae partem eam quae Ciliciam attingit eo consilio ut Armenius Artavasdes et ipsi Parthi Cappadocia se excludi putarent. Cum dies quinque ad Cybistra castra habuissem,

certior sum factus Parthos ab illo aditu Cappadociae longe abesse, Ciliciae magis imminere. Itaque confestim iter in Ciliciam feci per Tauri pylas. Tarsum veni a. d. III Nonas Octobres. Inde ad Amanum contendi qui Syriam a Cilicia in aquarum divertio dividit; qui mons erat hostium plenus sempiternorum. Hic a. d. III Idus Octobr. magnum numerum hostium occidimus. Castella munitissima nocturno Pomptini adventu, nostro matutino cepimus, incendimus. Imperatores appellati sumus. Castra paucos dies habuimus ea ipsa quae contra Darium habuerat apud Issum Alexander, imperator haud paulo melior quam aut tu aut ego. Ibi dies quinque morati direpto et vastato Amano inde discessimus. Interim (scis enim dici quaedam '*πανικά*,' dici item '*τὰ κενὰ τοῦ πολέμου*') rumore adventus nostri et Cassio qui Antiochia tenebatur animus accessit et Parthis timor iniectus est. Itaque eos cedentes ab oppido Cassius insecutus rem bene gessit. Qua in fuga magna auctoritate Osaces dux Parthorum vulnus accepit eoque interiit paucis post diebus. Erat in Syria nostrum nomen in gratia. Venit interim Bibulus; credo, voluit appellatione hac inani nobis esse par. In eodem Amano coepit loreolam in mustaceo quaerere. At ille cohortem primam totam perdidit centurionemque primi pili nobilem sui generis Asinium Dentonem et reliquos cohortis eiusdem et Sex. Lucilium, T. Gavi Caepionis locupletis et splendidi hominis filium, tribunum militum. Sane plagam odiosam acceperat cum re tum tempore. Nos ad Pindenissum, quod oppidum munitissimum Eleutherocilicum omnium memoria in armis fuit. Feri homines et acres et omnibus rebus ad defendendum parati. Cinximus vallo et fossa; aggere maximo, vineis, turre altissima, magna tormentorum copia, multis sagittariis, magno labore, apparatu, multis sauciis nostris, incolumi exercitu

negotium confecimus. Hilara sane Saturnalia militibus quoque quibus exceptis *mancipiis* reliquam praedam concessimus. Mancipia venibant Saturnalibus tertiis. Cum haec scribebam, in tribunali res erat ad HS $\overline{\text{CXX}}$. Hinc exercitum in hiberna agri male pacati deducendum Quinto fratri dabam; ipse me Laodiceam recipiebam.

Haec adhuc. Sed ad praeterita revertamur. Quod me maxime hortaris et quod pluris est quam omnia, in quo laboras ut etiam Ligurino μώμῳ satis faciamus, moriar si quicquam fieri potest elegantius. Nec iam ego hanc continentiam appello, quae virtus voluptati resistere videtur. Ego in vita mea nulla umquam voluptate tanta sum adfectus quanta adficior hac integritate, nec me tam fama quae summa est quam res ipsa delectat. Quid quaeris? fuit tanti. Me ipse non noram nec satis sciebam quid in hoc genere facere possem. Recte πεφύσημαι. Nihil est praeclarius. Interim haec λαμπρά. Ariobarzanes opera mea vivit, regnat; ἐν παρόδῳ consilio et auctoritate et quod insidiatoribus eius ἀπρόσιτον me non modo ἀδωροδόκητον praebui, regem regnumque servavi. Interea e Cappadocia ne pilum quidem. Brutum abiectum quantum potui excitavi; quem non minus amo quam tu, paene dixi, quam te. Atque etiam spero toto anno imperii nostri terruncium sumptus in provincia nullum fore.

Habes omnia. Nunc publice litteras Romam mittere parabam. Uberiores erunt quam si ex Amano misissem. At te Romae non fore! Sed est totum *in eo* quid Kalendis Martiis futurum sit. Vereor enim ne, cum de provincia agetur, si Caesar resistet, nos retineamur. His tu si adesses, nihil timerem.

Redeo ad urbana quae ego diu ignorans ex tuis iucundissimis litteris a. d. v Kal. Ianuarias denique cognovi. Eas

diligentissime Philogenes, libertus tuus, curavit perlonga et non satis tuta via perferendas. Nam quas Laeni pueris scribis datas non acceperam. Iucunda de Caesare et quae senatus decrevit et quae tu speras. Quibus ille si cedit, salvi sumus. Incendio Plaetoriano quod Seius ambustus es minus moleste fero. Lucceius de Q. Cassio cur tam vehemens fuerit et quid actum sit aveo scire.

Ego cum Laodiceam venero, Quinto, sororis tuae filio, togam puram iubeor dare. Cui moderabor diligentius. Deiotarus cuius auxiliis magnis usus sum ad me, ut scripsit, cum Ciceronibus Laodiceam venturus erat. Tuas etiam Epiroticas exspecto litteras ut habeam rationem non modo negotii verum etiam otii tui. Nicanor in officio est et a me liberaliter tractatur. Quem, ut puto, Romam cum litteris publicis mittam ut et diligentius perferantur et idem ad me certa de te et a te referat. Alexis quod mihi totiens salutem adscribit est gratum; sed cur non suis litteris idem facit quod meus ad te Alexis facit? Phemio quaeritur κέρας. Sed haec hactenus. Cura ut valeas et ut sciam quando cogites Romam. Etiam atque etiam vale.

Tua tuosque Thermo et praesens Ephesi diligentissime commendaram et nunc per litteras ipsumque intellexi esse perstudiosum tui. Tu velim, quod antea ad te scripsi, de domo Pammeni des operam ut quod tuo meoque beneficio puer habet cures ne qua ratione convellatur. Utrique nostrum honestum existimo; tum mihi erit pergratum.

16

Scr. Romae IX K. Iun. aut paulo post a. 703 (51).

Caelius Ciceroni S.

Quod tibi discedens pollicitus sum me omnes res urbanas diligentissime tibi perscripturum, data opera paravi qui sic omnia persequeretur ut verear ne tibi nimium arguta haec sedulitas videatur; tametsi tu scio quam sis curiosus et quam omnibus peregrinantibus gratum sit minimarum quoque rerum quae domi gerantur fieri certiores. Tamen in hoc te deprecor ne meum hoc officium adrogantiae condemnes quod hunc laborem alteri delegavi, non quin mihi suavissimum sit et occupato et ad litteras scribendas, ut tu nosti, pigerrimo tuae memoriae dare operam, sed ipsum volumen quod tibi misi facile, ut ego arbitror, me excusat. Nescio quoius otii esset non modo perscribere haec sed omnino animadvertere; omnia enim sunt ibi senatus consulta, edicta, fabulae, rumores. Quod exemplum si forte minus te delectarit, ne molestiam tibi cum inpensa mea exhibeam fac me certiorem. Si quid in re p. maius actum erit quod isti operarii minus commode persequi possint, et quem ad modum actum sit, et quae existimatio secuta quaeque de eo spes sit diligenter tibi perscribemus. Ut nunc est, nulla magnopere expectatio est. Nam et illi rumores de comitiis Transpadanorum Cumarum tenus caluerunt, Romam cum venissem, ne tenuissimam quidem auditionem de ea re accepi; praeterea Marcellus, quod adhuc nihil rettulit de successione provinciarum Galliarum et in K. Iun., ut mihi ipse dixit, eam distulit relationem, sane quam eos sermones expressit qui de eo tum fuerant, cum Romae nos essemus. Tu si Pompeium, ut volebas,

offendisti, qui tibi visus sit et quam orationem habuerit tecum quamque ostenderit voluntatem (solet enim aliud sentire et loqui neque tantum valere ingenio ut non appareat quid cupiat) fac mihi perscribas. Quod ad Caesarem, crebri et non belli de eo rumores sed susurratores dumtaxat veniunt. Alius equitem perdidisse, quod, opinor, certe factum est, alius septimam legionem vapulasse, ipsum apud Bellovacos circumsederi interclusum ab reliquo exercitu; neque adhuc certi quicquam est neque haec incerta tamen vulgo iactantur, sed inter paucos quos tu nosti palam secreto narrantur; at Domitius, cum manus ad os apposuit. Te a. d. VIIII K. Iun. subrostrani (quod illorum capiti sit!) dissiparant perisse. Urbe ac foro toto maximus rumor fuit te a Q. Pompeio in itinere occisum. Ego qui scirem Q. Pompeium Baulis embaeneticam facere et usque eo ut ego misererer eius esurire, non sum commotus et hoc mendacio, si qua pericula tibi inpenderent, ut defungeremur optavi. Plancus quidem tuus Ravennae est et magno congiario donatus a Caesare nec beatus nec bene instructus est. Tui politici libri omnibus vigent.

17

Scr. Romae ex. m. Apr. aut in. Mai. a. 704 (50).

Caelius Ciceroni S.

Quam cito tu istinc decedere cupias nescio; ego quidem eo magis quo adhuc felicius res gessisti, dum istic eris, de belli Parthici periculo cruciabor ne hunc risum meum metus aliqui perturbet. Breviores has litteras properanti publicanorum tabellario subito dedi; tuo liberto pluribus verbis scriptas pridie dederam. Res autem novae nullae sane acciderunt, nisi haec vis tibi scribi quae certe vis: Cornificius

adulescens Orestillae filiam sibi despondit; Paula Valeria, soror Triari, divortium sine causa quo die vir e provincia venturus erat fecit; nuptura est D. Bruto. † Nondum rettuleras. Multa in hoc genere incredibilia te absente acciderunt. Servius Ocella nemini persuasisset se moechum esse, nisi triduo bis deprensus esset. Quaeres ubi. *Ubi* hercules ego minime vellem. Relinquo tibi quod ab aliis quaeras; neque enim displicet mihi imperatorem singulos percontari, cum qua sit aliqui deprensus.

18

Scr. Romae vel ex. m. Apr. vel in. Mai. a. 704 (50).

M. Cato S. D. M. Ciceroni Imp.

Quod et res p. me et nostra amicitia hortatur libenter facio ut tuam virtutem, innocentiam, diligentiam cognitam in maximis rebus domi togati, armati foris pari industria administrare gaudeam. Itaque, quod pro meo iudicio facere potui, ut innocentia consilioque tuo defensam provinciam, servatum Ariobarzanis cum ipso rege regnum, sociorum revocatam ad studium imperii nostri voluntatem sententia mea et decreto laudarem, feci. Supplicationem decretam, si tu, qua in re nihil fortuito sed summa tua ratione et continentia rei p. provisum est, dis immortalibus gratulari nos quam tibi referre acceptum mavis, gaudeo; quodsi triumphi praerogativam putas supplicationem et idcirco casum potius quam te laudari mavis, neque supplicationem sequitur semper triumphus et triumpho multo clarius est senatum iudicare potius mansuetudine et innocentia imperatoris provinciam quam vi militum aut benignitate deorum retentam atque conservatam esse; quod ego mea sententia censebam.

Atque haec ego idcirco ad te contra consuetudinem meam pluribus scripsi ut, quod maxime volo, existimes me laborare ut tibi persuadeam me et voluisse de tua maiestate quod amplissimum sim arbitratus et, quod tu maluisti, factum esse gaudere. Vale et nos dilige et instituto itinere severitatem diligentiamque sociis et rei p. praesta.

19

Scr. Tarsi paulo ante III K. Sext. a. 704 (50).

M. Cicero S. D. M. Catoni.

'Laetus sum laudari me,' inquit Hector, opinor, apud Naevium, 'aps te, pater, a laudato viro.' Ea est enim profecto iucunda laus quae ab iis proficiscitur qui ipsi in laude vixerunt. Ego vero vel gratulatione litterarum tuarum vel testimoniis sententiae dictae nihil est quod me non adsecutum putem idque mihi cum amplissimum tum gratissimum est te libenter amicitiae dedisse quod liquido veritati dares. Et, si non modo omnes verum etiam multi Catones essent in civitate nostra in qua unum exstitisse mirabile est, quem ego currum aut quam lauream cum tua laudatione conferrem? Nam ad meum sensum et ad illud sincerum ac subtile iudicium nihil potest esse laudabilius quam ea tua oratio quae est ad me perscripta a meis necessariis. Sed causam meae voluntatis, non enim dicam 'cupiditatis,' exposui tibi superioribus litteris; quae etiamsi parum iusta tibi visa est, hanc tamen habet rationem non ut nimis concupiscendus honos sed tamen, si deferatur a senatu, minime aspernandus esse videatur. Spero autem illum ordinem pro meis ob rem p. susceptis laboribus me non indignum honore, usitato praesertim, existimaturum. Quod si ita erit, tantum ex te

peto, quod amicissime scribis, ut, cum tuo iudicio quod amplissimum esse arbitraris mihi tribueris, si id quod maluero acciderit, gaudeas. Sic enim fecisse te et sensisse et scripsisse video resque ipsa declarat tibi illum honorem nostrum supplicationis iucundum fuisse quod scribendo adfuisti; haec enim senatus consulta non ignoro ab amicissimis eius cuius *de* honore agitur scribi solere. Ego, ut spero, te prope diem videbo atque utinam re p. meliore quam timeo!

20

Scr. in Pompeiano IV aut III Id. Dec. a. 704 (50).

Cicero Attico Sal.

Dionysium flagrantem desiderio tui misi ad te nec mehercule aequo animo, sed fuit concedendum. Quem quidem cognovi cum doctum, quod mihi iam ante erat notum, tum sane plenum officii, studiosum etiam meae laudis, frugi hominem ac, ne libertinum laudare videar, plane virum bonum. Pompeium vidi IIII Idus Decembres. Fuimus una horas duas fortasse. Magna laetitia mihi visus est adfici meo adventu; de triumpho hortari, suscipere partes suas, monere ne ante in senatum accederem quam rem confecissem, ne dicendis sententiis aliquem tribunum alienarem. Quid quaeris? in hoc officio sermonis nihil potuit esse prolixius. De re publica autem ita mecum locutus est quasi non dubium bellum haberemus. Nihil ad spem concordiae. Plane illum a se alienatum cum ante intellegeret, tum vero proxume iudicasse. Venisse Hirtium a Caesare qui esset illi familiarissimus, ad se non accessisse et, cum ille a. d. VIII Idus Decembr. vesperi venisset, Balbus de tota re constituisset a. d. VII ad Scipionem ante lucem venire, multa

de nocte eum profectum esse ad Caesarem. Hoc illi τεκμηριῶδες videbatur esse alienationis. Quid multa? nihil me aliud consolatur, nisi quod illum, quoi etiam inimici alterum consulatum, fortuna summam potentiam dederit, non arbitror fore tam amentem ut haec in discrimen adducat. Quodsi ruere coeperit, ne ego multa timeo; quae non audeo scribere. Sed ut nunc est, a. d. III Nonas Ian. ad urbem cogito.

21

Scr. in Formiano V aut IV K. Ian. a. 704 (50).

Cicero Attico Sal.

'Cotidiene,' inquis, 'a te accipiendae litterae sunt?' Si habebo cui dem, cotidie. 'At iam ipse ades.' Tum igitur, cum venero desinam. Unas video mihi a te non esse redditas quas L. Quinctius, familiaris meus, cum ferret ad bustum Basili vulneratus et despoliatus est. Videbis igitur num quid fuerit in iis quod me scire opus sit et simul hoc διευκρινήσεις πρόβλημα sane πολιτικόν. Cum sit necesse aut haberi Caesaris rationem illo exercitum vel per senatum vel per tribunos pl. obtinente aut persuaderi Caesari ut tradat provinciam atque exercitum et ita consul fiat aut, si id ei non persuadeatur, haberi comitia sine illius ratione illo patiente atque obtinenti provinciam aut, si per tribunos pl. non patiatur *et* tamen quiescat, rem adduci ad interregnum aut, si ob eam causam quod ratio eius non habeatur exercitum adducat, armis cum eo contendere, illum autem initium facere armorum aut statim nobis minus paratis aut tum cum comitiis amicis eius postulantibus ut e lege ratio habeatur impetratum non sit, ire autem ad arma aut hanc unam ob causam quod ratio non habeatur aut addita causa si forte

tribunus pl. senatum impediens aut populum incitans notatus aut senatus consulto circumscriptus aut sublatus aut expulsus sit dicensve se expulsum ad illum confugerit, suscepto autem bello aut tenenda sit urbs aut ea relicta ille commeatu et reliquis copiis intercludendus — quod horum malorum, quorum aliquod certe subeundum est minimum putes. Dices profecto persuaderi illi ut tradat exercitum et ita consul fiat. Est omnino id eius modi ut, si ille eo descendat, contra dici nihil possit idque eum, si non obtinet ut ratio habeatur retinentis exercitum, non facere miror. Nobis autem, ut quidam putant, nihil est timendum magis quam ille consul. 'At sic malo,' inquies, 'quam cum exercitu.' Certe; sed istud ipsum 'sic malo' magnum malum putat aliquis neque ei remedium est ullum. 'Cedendum est, si id volet.' Vide consulem illum iterum quem vidisti consulatu priore. 'At tum imbecillus plus,' inquis, 'valuit quam tota res publica.' Quid nunc putas? et eo consule Pompeio certum est esse in Hispania. O rem miseram! si quidem id ipsum deterrimum est quod recusari non potest et quod ille si faciat, iamiam *a* bonis omnibus summam ineat gratiam. Tollamus igitur hoc quo illum posse adduci negant; de reliquis quid est deterrimum? Concedere illi quod, ut idem dicit, impudentissime postulat. Nam quid impudentius? Tenuisti provinciam per annos decem non tibi a senatu sed a te ipso per vim et per factionem datos; praeteriit tempus non legis sed libidinis tuae, fac tamen legis; ut succedatur decernitur; impedis et ais: 'Habe meam rationem.' Habe tu nostram. Exercitum tu habeas diutius quam populus iussit, invito senatu? 'Depugnes oportet, nisi concedis.' Cum bona quidem spe, ut ait idem, vel vincendi vel in libertate moriendi. Iam si pugnandum est, quo tempore in casu, quo consilio in temporibus situm

est. Itaque te in ea quaestione non exerceo; ad ea quae dixi adfer si quid habes. Equidem dies noctèsque torqueor.

22

Scr. in Formiano VII K. Mart., ut videtur, a. 705 (49).

Cicero Attico Sal.

Unum etiam restat amico nostro ad omne dedecus ut Domitio non subveniat. 'At nemo dubitat quin subsidio venturus sit.' Ego non puto. 'Deseret igitur talem civem et eos quos una scis esse cum habeat praesertim is ipse cohortes triginta?' Nisi me omnia fallunt, deseret. Incredibiliter pertimuit, nihil spectat nisi fugam. Quoi tu (video enim, quid sentias) me comitem putas debere esse. Ego vero quem fugiam habeo, quem sequar, non habeo. Quod enim tu meum laudas et memorandum dicis, malle quod dixerim me cum Pompeio vinci quam cum istis vincere, ego vero malo sed cum illo Pompeio qui tum erat aut qui mihi esse videbatur, cum hoc vero qui ante fugit quam scit aut quem fugiat aut quo, qui nostra tradidit, qui patriam reliquit, Italiam relinquit, si malui, contigit, victus sum. Quod superest, nec ista videre possum quae numquam timui ne viderem nec mehercule istum propter quem mihi non modo meis sed memet ipso carendum est.

Ad Philotimum scripsi de viatico sive a Moneta (nemo enim solvit) sive ab Oppiis, tuis contubernalibus. Cetera apposita tibi mandabo.

23

Scr. Luceriae XIII K. Mart. 705 (49).

Cn. Magnus Procos. S. D. L. Domitio Procos.

Litterae mihi a te redditae sunt a. d. XIII. Kal. Martias in quibus scribis Caesarem apud Corfinium castra posuisse. Quod putavi et praemonui fit, ut nec in praesentia committere tecum proelium velit et omnibus copiis conductis te implicet ne ad me iter tibi expeditum sit atque istas copias coniungere optimorum civium possis cum his legionibus de quarum voluntate dubitamus. Quo etiam magis tuis litteris sum commotus. Neque enim eorum militum quos mecum habeo, voluntate satis confido ut de omnibus fortunis rei publicae dimicem neque etiam qui ex dilectibus conscripti sunt consulibus convenerunt.

Quare da operam, si ulla ratione etiam nunc efficere potes, ut te explices, hoc quam primum venias, antequam omnes copiae *ad* adversarium conveniant. Neque enim celeriter ex dilectibus hoc homines convenire possunt et, si convenirent, quantum iis committendum sit qui inter se ne noti *quidem* sunt contra veteranas legiones non te praeterit.

24

Scr. in Formiano III K. Mart. a. 705 (49).

Cicero Attico Sal.

Quod me magno animi motu perturbatum putas, sum equidem sed non tam magno quam tibi fortasse videor. Levatur enim omnis cura cum aut constitit consilium aut cogitando nihil explicatur. Lamentari autem licet illud quidem totos dies; sed vereor ne nihil cum proficiam etiam

dedecori sim studiis ac litteris nostris. Consumo igitur omne tempus considerans quanta vis sit illius viri quem nostris libris satis diligenter, ut tibi quidem videmur, expressimus. Tenesne igitur moderatorem illum rei publicae quo referre velimus omnia? Nam sic quinto, ut opinor, in libro loquitur Scipio: 'Ut enim gubernatori cursus secundus, medico salus, imperatori victoria, sic huic moderatori rei publicae beata civium vita proposita est, ut opibus firma, copiis locuples, gloria ampla, virtute honesta sit. Huius enim operis maximi inter homines atque optimi illum esse perfectorem volo.' Hoc Gnaeus noster cum antea numquam tum in hac causa minime cogitavit. Dominatio quaesita ab utroque est, non id actum beata et honesta civitas ut esset. Nec vero ille urbem reliquit quod eam tueri non posset nec Italiam quod ea pelleretur sed hoc a primo cogitavit, omnes terras, omnia maria movere, reges barbaros incitare, gentes feras armatas in Italiam adducere, exercitus conficere maximos. Genus illud Sullani regni iam pridem appetitur multis qui una sunt cupientibus. An censes nihil inter eos convenire, nullam pactionem fieri potuisse? Hodie potest. Sed neutri σκοπὸς est ille ut nos beati simus; uterque regnare vult.

25

Scr. Romae V aut IV Id. Mart. a. 705 (49).

Balbus Ciceroni Imp. Sal.

S. V. B. Posteaquam litteras communes cum Oppio ad te dedi, ab Caesare epistulam accepi cuius exemplum tibi misi. Ex qua perspicere poteris quam cupiat concordiam *suam* et Pompei reconciliare et quam remotus sit ab omni crudelitate; quod eum sentire, ut debeo, valde gaudeo. De te et

tua fide et pietate idem mehercule, mi Cicero, sentio quod tu, non posse tuam famam et officium sustinere ut contra eum arma feras a quo tantum beneficium te accepisse praedices. Caesarem hoc idem probaturum exploratum pro singulari eius humanitate habeo eique cumulatissime satis facturum te certo scio, cum nullam partem belli contra eum suscipias neque socius eius adversariis fueris. Atque hoc non solum in te, tali et tanto viro, satis habebit sed etiam mihi ipse sua concessit voluntate ne in iis castris essem quae contra Lentulum aut Pompeium futura essent quorum beneficia maxima haberem, sibique satis esse dixit si togatus urbana officia sibi praestitissem quae etiam illis, si vellem, praestare possem. Itaque nunc Romae omnia negotia Lentuli procuro sustineo meumque officium, fidem, pietatem iis praesto. Sed mehercule rursus iam abiectam compositionis spem non desperatissimam esse puto, quoniam Caesar est ea mente quam optare debemus.

Hac re mihi placet, si tibi videtur, te ad eum scribere et ab eo praesidium petere, ut petiisti a Pompeio me quidem adprobante temporibus Milonianis. Praestabo, si Caesarem bene novi, eum prius tuae dignitatis quam suae utilitatis rationem habiturum.

Haec quam prudenter tibi scribam nescio sed illud certe scio, me ab singulari amore ac benevolentia quaecumque scribo tibi scribere quod te (ita incolumi Caesare moriar!) tanti facio ut paucos aeque ac te caros habeam. De hac re cum aliquid constitueris, velim mihi scribas. Nam non mediocriter laboro ut utrique, ut vis, tuam benevolentiam praestare possis quam mehercule te praestaturum confido. Fac valeas.

26

Scr. in itinere paulo ante ep. 25.

Caesar Oppio, Cornelio Sal.

Gaudeo merhercule vos significare litteris quam valde probetis ea quae apud Corfinium sunt gesta. Consilio vestro utar lubenter et hoc lubentius quod mea sponte facere constitueram ut quam lenissimum me praeberem et Pompeium darem operam ut reconciliarem. Temptemus hoc modo si possimus omnium voluntates recuperare et diuturna victoria uti, quoniam reliqui crudelitate odium effugere non potuerunt neque victoriam diutius tenere praeter unum L. Sullam quem imitaturus non sum. Haec nova sit ratio vincendi ut misericordia et liberalitate nos muniamus. Id quem ad modum fieri possit non nulla mi in mentem veniunt et multa reperiri possunt. De his rebus rogo vos ut cogitationem suscipiatis.

N. Magium Pompei praefectum deprehendi. Scilicet meo instituto usus sum et eum statim missum feci. Iam duo praefecti fabrum Pompei in meam potestatem venerunt et a me missi sunt. Si volent grati esse, debebunt Pompeium hortari ut malit mihi esse amicus quam iis qui et illi et mihi semper fuerunt inimicissimi; quorum artificiis effectum est ut res publica in hunc statum perveniret.

27

Scr. in Formiano VII K. Apr. a. 705 (49).

Cicero Attico Sal.

Cum quod scriberem ad te nihil haberem, tamen ne quem diem intermitterem has dedi litteras. A. d. VI K. Caesarem Sinuessae mansurum nuntiabant. Ab eo mihi litterae red-

ditae sunt a. d. VII K. quibus iam 'opes' meas, non ut superioribus litteris 'opem' exspectat. Cum eius clementiam Corfiniensem illam per litteras collaudavissem rescripsit hoc exemplo:

'CAESAR IMP. CICERONI IMP. SAL. DIC.

Recte auguraris de me (bene enim tibi cognitus sum) nihil a me abesse longius crudelitate. Atque ego cum ex ipsa re magnam capio voluptatem tum meum factum probari abs te triumpho gaudio. Neque illud me movet quod ii qui a me dimissi sunt discessisse dicuntur ut mihi rursus bellum inferrent. Nihil enim malo quam et me mei similem esse et illos sui. Tu velim mihi ad urbem praesto sis ut tuis consiliis atque opibus, ut consuevi, in omnibus rebus utar. Dolabella tuo nihil scito mihi esse iucundius. Hanc adeo habebo gratiam illi; neque enim aliter facere poterit. Tanta eius humanitas, is sensus, ea in me est benevolentia.'

28

Scr. in Cumano V Non. Mai. a. 705 (49).

Cicero Attico Sal.

Adventus Philotimi (at cuius hominis, quam insulsi et quam saepe pro Pompeio mentientis!) exanimavit omnes qui mecum erant; nam ipse obdurui. Dubitabat nostrum nemo quin Caesar itinera repressisset — volare dicitur; Petreius cum Afranio coniunxisset *se* — nihil adfert eius modi. Quid quaeris? etiam illud erat persuasum, Pompeium cum magnis copiis iter in Galliam per Illyricum fecisse; id enim αὐθεντικῶς nuntiabatur. Melitam igitur, opinor, capessamus, dum quid in Hispania. Quod quidem

prope modum videor ex Caesaris litteris ipsius voluntate facere posse qui negat neque honestius neque tutius mihi quicquam esse quam ab omni contentioni abesse. Dices: 'Ubi ille ergo tuus animus quem proximis litteris?' Adest et idem est; sed utinam meo solum capite decernerem! Lacrimae meorum me interdum molliunt precantium ut de Hispaniis exspectemus. M. Caeli quidem epistulam scriptam miserabiliter, cum hoc idem obsecraret ut exspectarem, ne fortunas meas, ne unicum filium, ne meos omnes tam temere proderem, non sine magno fletu legerunt pueri nostri. Etsi meus quidem est fortior eoque ipso vehementius commovet nec quicquam nisi de dignatione laborat.

Melitam igitur, deinde quo videbitur. Tu tamen etiam nunc mihi aliquid litterarum et maxime si quid ab Afranio. Ego, si cum Antonio locutus ero, scribam ad te quid actum sit. Ero tamen in credendo, ut mones, cautus; nam occultandi ratio cum difficilis tum etiam periculosa est. Servium exspecto ad Nonas et adigit ita Postumia et Servius filius. Quartanam leviorem esse gaudeo. Misi ad te Caeli etiam litterarum exemplum.

29

Scr. Intimili XV K. Mai. a. 705 (49).

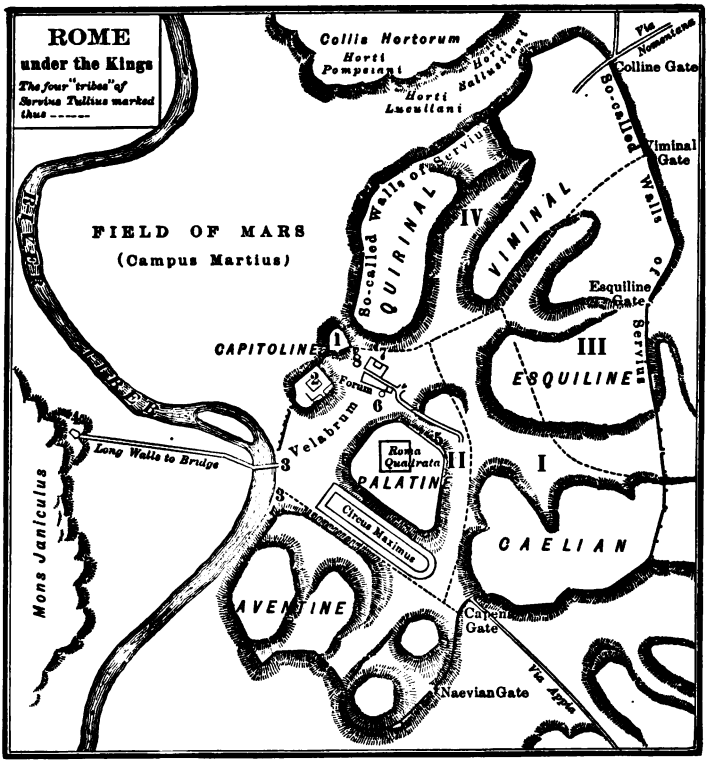
Caelius Ciceroni Sal.

Exanimatus tuis litteris quibus te nihil nisi triste cogitare ostendisti neque id quid esset perscripsisti neque non tamen quale esset quod cogitares aperuisti, has ad te ilico litteras scripsi. Per fortunas tuas, Cicero, per liberos te oro et obsecro ne quid gravius de salute et incolumitate tua consulas. Nam deos hominesque amicitiamque nostram testificor me tibi praedixisse neque temere monuisse sed, postquam Cae-

sarem convenerim sententiamque eius qualis futura esset parta victoria cognorim, te certiorem fecisse. Si existimas eandem rationem fore Caesaris in dimittendis adversariis et condicionibus ferendis, erras; nihil nisi atrox et saevum cogitat atque etiam loquitur; iratus senatui exiit, his intercessionibus plane incitatus est; non mehercules erit deprecationi locus. Quare si tibi tu, si filius unicus, si domus, si spes tuae reliquae tibi carae sunt, si aliquid apud te nos, si vir optimus, gener tuus valemus quorum fortunam non debes velle conturbare, ut eam causam in quoius victoria salus nostra est odisse aut relinquere cogamur aut impiam cupiditatem contra salutem tuam habeamus — denique illud cogita, quod offensae fuerit in ista cunctatione te subisse. Nunc te contra victorem Caesarem facere quem dubiis rebus laedere noluisti et ad eos fugatos accedere quos resistentes sequi nolueris summae stultitiae est. Vide ne, dum pudet te parum optimatem esse, parum diligenter quid optimum sit eligas. Quod si totum tibi persuadere non possum, saltem dum quid de Hispaniis agamus scitur exspecta; quas tibi nuntio adventu Caesaris fore nostras. Quam isti spem habeant amissis Hispaniis nescio; quod porro tuum consilium sit ad desperatos accedere non medius fidius reperio.

Hoc quod tu non dicendo mihi significasti Caesar audierat ac, simul atque 'have' mihi dixit, statim quid de te audisset exposuit. Negavi me scire sed tamen ab eo petivi ut ad te litteras mitteret quibus maxime ad remanendum commoveri posses. Me secum in Hispaniam ducit. Nam nisi ita faceret, ego, priusquam ad urbem accederem, ubicumque esses ad te percucurrissem et hoc a te praesens contendissem atque omni vi te retinuissem. Etiam atque etiam, Cicero, cogita ne te tuosque omnis funditus evertas, ne te sciens prudensque eo demittas unde exitum vides nullum

esse. Quodsi te aut voces optimatium commovent aut non nullorum hominum insolentiam et iactationem ferre non potes, eligas censeo aliquod oppidum vacuum a bello, dum haec decernuntur; quae iam erunt confecta. Id si feceris, et ego te sapienter fecisse iudicabo et Caesarem non offendes.



1. Citadel (Arx).
2. Temple of Jupiter (Capitolinus).
3. Quays of the Tarquins.
4. Citadel at Janiculum.
5. Old Wall of Romulus.
6. Temple of Vesta.
7. Senate House (Curia).
8. Comitium.

A.	= Allen and Greenough: New Latin Grammar.
Abbott	= F. F. Abbott: Short History of Rome.
Abbott R. P. I.	= F. F. Abbott: Roman Political Institutions.
B.	= Bennett: Latin Grammar.
C. L. S.	= J. E. Sandys: Companion to Latin Studies.
Lehmann	= Konrad Lehmann: Die Angriffe der drei Barkiden auf Italien.
Maine	= Sir Henry Maine: Ancient Law, with notes by Sir Frederick Pollock.
Mommsen	= Theodor Mommsen: The History of Rome, translation by W. P. Dickson, Scribners, 1905.
Roby	= Henry John Roby: Latin Grammar.
Westcott	= J. H. Westcott: Livy I, XXI, XXII.

NOTES ON LIVY

Beginning of the Republic

Page 1. 1. In the first book, Livy has related the traditional history of Rome under the kings, who ruled for life and were not responsible to the people. Henceforth (*iam hinc*) he is to describe the affairs of the free Roman people, i.e. the Republic, said to have been founded in B.C. 509. He thinks the most important new features in the republican organization were magistrates elected annually and the supreme authority of laws over all individuals. A magistrate was elected by the people and, though he could not be removed from office, yet after his term was completed, he could be punished for maladministration and was thus held responsible. Laws were now made by the people and even the magistrates were bound to obey them, whereas formerly the king was above the laws. Livy does not bring out the fact that the chief executive authority of the Republic was vested in two coequal magistrates (the consuls), which according to modern views was one of the most important features of the republican government, since each consul could act as a check on the other. (Cf. the theory of checks and balances of the American Constitution.)

3. Quae libertas: the relative pronoun is freely used in Latin at the beginning of an independent sentence or clause where we employ a demonstrative. The student should accustom himself immediately to translate these accordingly. A. 308, f. B. 251, 6.

4. proxumi regis: Lucius Tarquinius, whose wanton disregard of individual rights (*superbia*) gained him the name Superbus. The story of the rape of Lucretia by Lucius' youngest son, Sextus, gave a proper romantic setting to the expulsion of the Tarquin dynasty; the moral, perhaps, is 'Cherchez la femme.' **priores**: sc. *reges*. **regnarunt**: syncopated perfect, full form *regnaverunt*; cf. *consociasset* (line 17) for *consociavisset*, *adsuesse* (page 2, line 26) for *adsuevisse*. A. 181. B. 116, 1. Cf. E. B. Lease in Classical Review for Feb., 1914, page 31.

5. conditores partium certe urbis: *founders of parts of the city at least.* Some of the kings may have come to Rome from other places, e.g. the Tarquins from Etruria, and brought with them numbers of people by which the population of Rome was increased (*auctae multitudinis*); new districts (*novas sedes*) of the city would thus be formed. *sedes* is in apposition with *quas*.

7. numerentur: present tense because they were still so considered when Livy wrote. **Brutus**: Lucius Junius Brutus, leader in the expulsion of the Tarquins, was elected one of the first consuls. His colleague was Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus.

8. pessimo . . . fuerit: *would have done it with the greatest injury to the state. pessimo* is probably a substantive, superlative of *malum*, dative of purpose or end.

9. facturus fuerit: the participle in *-urus* with *eram* or *fui* may replace the imperfect or pluperfect subjunctive in the apodosis of conditions contrary to fact. Cf. *Quid enim futurum fuit*, line 10. When the apodosis of a past contrary to fact condition is also a result clause or a *quin* clause, it is put in the participle in *-urus* with *fuerim*. A. 517, d. B. 304, 3, b and 322.

11. transfuga: serfs or criminals from neighboring tribes who had come to Rome under the kings to seek sanctuary in the so-called asylum of Romulus. Such people were sure to be a lawless element.

13. regio: = *regis*, objective genitive. Cf. *tribuniciis* (line 14) = *tribunorum*, subjective genitive; and *regiis* (page 2, line 9). Latin often prefers an adjective where English uses a subjective genitive phrase.

14. coepta esset: the passive forms of this verb are regularly

used with passive infinitives. An active form can easily be supplied here for *serere*.

15. pignera: cf. Swift, Gulliver II, 7: I could never forget those domestic *pledges* I had left behind me. Bacon, Essay VIII: He that hath wife and children hath given *hostages* to fortune.

16. adsuescitur: impersonal passive, *one grows accustomed.*

17. animos eorum consociasset: *had united them.* **res**: sc. *publicae*.

18. forent: such forms are sometimes used for *essem*, *esses*, etc.; they are especially frequent in Livy. The verb here is *dissipatae forent.*

19. eo perduxit ut: *brought it to such a state that.* *eo* is an adverb.

Page 2. **1. maturis iam viribus**: ablative absolute; an adjective or a second noun may take the place of the participle. A. 419, a. B. 227, 1. **posset**: the subject is *res* (*publica*), page 1, line 17, considered as singular, the state.

2. inde: = *ab eo* and refers to the *quia* clause following.

3. diminutum sit: subjunctive of a rejected or hypothetical reason after *magis quam quod* = *non quod.* A. 540, 2. B. 286.

4. numeres: jussive subjunctive; second person singular in an indefinite sense. A. 439, a. B. 356, 3. **iura, insignia**: of the kings; they wore the purple toga, sat on the ivory chair (*sella curulis*), and had 12 lictors. **primi**: the *iura* of the consuls were later restricted by the creation of new offices such as the praetorship. **tenuere**: Livy has a fondness for the ending *-ere* in the 3d person plural of the perfect indicative. Cf. *subiecere*, line 22; and see E. B. Lease, loc. cit.

6. concedente collega: i.e. they alternated in the administration.

10. iure iurando adegit: *bound by an oath;* followed by indirect discourse. **regnare**: *assume kingly power.*

11. quo: *in order that;* used in purpose clauses that contain a comparative. A. 531, 1, a. B. 282, 1, a. **frequentia etiam**: *the very number.*

14. Traditumque inde fertur: *and from this it is said the custom arose.* *Traditum* (*esse*) is construed with *ut* and the subjunctive as a subject nominative, like *mos est;* really a substantive clause of result. A. 571. B. 297, 3.

15. qui . . . essent: i.e. the Senate was composed of patricians and prominent plebeians who were enrolled or selected (*conscripti*).

The customary form of addressing the Senate: *patres conscripti*, was supposed to be shortened from *patres et conscripti*. Mommsen I, page 330. **conscriptos . . . lectos**: *they call those conscripti, to wit, who were appointed to the Senate*, in contradistinction to the *patres* who held their seats as the prerogatives of their order.

16. mirum quantum: shortened from *mirum est quantum* and crystallized into an adverbial phrase with no influence on the mood of the verb; cf. *nescio quid.*

20. necubi: *lest anywhere;* from *ne* (*c*)*ubi*, *cubi* being the old form of *ubi.*

20, 21. regum desiderium: Livy means that people were afraid of offending the gods if the *sacra*, which had before been looked after by the king, were not still performed by one who had the name (if not the power) of a king. Religion is always most conservative, and this maintenance of the ritual unchanged while the political institutions were completely altered is only one example out of many. Cf. the name and position of the king archon at Athens. (For the general process see Maine, Chap. I, with Sir F. Pollock's note C, and Mommsen I, page 315.)

22. additus nomini honos: *the office* (official power, which was for life) *added to the title* (of king). The office was made a subordinate one and would thus offer to the holder no opportunity to get the larger powers which had previously been attached to the king's position. **aliquid**: accusative of result produced. A. 390, c. B. 176, 2.

23. nescio an: *I am inclined to think.*

24. minimis rebus: Livy continually uses the ablative without prepositions where they would naturally be expected, "the local ablative constantly shading off into the modal or instrumental." (Westcott xxvi.) **modum excesserint**: *went too far*, literally, *exceeded the limit.* Take *nimis* with *muniendo.*

25. consulis alterius: *of the one consul*, Collatinus, who was a Tarquin.

26. nimium adsuesse: this and the succeeding clauses to *libertati esse* are in indirect discourse after some such idea as 'people thought' understood. On *adsuesse* and *regnasse* cf. note to page 1, line 4.

27-29. Prisco, Ser. Tullium, Superbum: i.e. Tarquinius Priscus; Servius Tullius, whose daughter married Tarquinius Superbus, son of Priscus; and Tarquinius Superbus. They were the last three kings according to tradition.

27–30. ne intervallo . . . repetisse: *Tarquinius Superbus, not even after the interval* (of Servius' reign) *forgetting the kingdom as another's* (i.e. belonging to the people and the king whom they kept on the throne, Servius), *sought the kingdom by crime and violence, as if it were the inheritance of his family.* He was the son of Tarquinius Priscus and, though Servius was then on the throne, Superbus regarded the kingdom as his hereditary right and slew Servius.

31. nomen: the very name of Tarquin had regal associations that were now invidious to the free Roman people and might at any time be used as an aid in regaining supreme power.

32. sensim temptantium animos: *of those who quietly sounded people's feelings.*

Page 3. **2. contionem**: an informal mass meeting called to hear a speech. The *comitia* were the official assemblies for voting, e.g. legislation or election.

4. unde: = *a quo* or *a qua*, and may refer to persons and things as well as places. Cf. *inde*, page 2, line 2.

6. contemnendam: *to be overlooked.* **hominis causa**: refers to Collatinus, his colleague. It is to be joined with *invitum*.

7. dicturum fuisse, vinceret: notice the mixed present and past contrary to fact condition.

8. solidam: they felt that their liberty was not *secured* as long as a *regium genus* lived in the state. Cf. the position and aims of the present French royalists.

10. imperio: the conception of *imperium* should be studied and each instance of its use noted. Its root meaning is command or the right to command (*impero*). On page 1, line 2, it is used of the authority of laws; page 1, line 18, of the state government as a whole; page 2, line 2, of a magistracy; page 2, line 30, of official authority. It was applied also to the dominion of the Roman people over their provinces (empire). It always implied legitimate right to command that proceeded from inherent authority, usually the sovereignty of a people. Compare this conception with ἀρχή and Empire.

12. absolve: *complete.*

14. cives: *fellow citizens*, and so often. **auctore me**: *at my instigation.* For construction see note to page 2, line 1. *Auctor* is usually not to be translated by 'author.'

16. persuasum est: *persuadeo* is not used with a personal subject in the passive. A. 372. B. 187, II. b. **animis**: it is frequently

more convenient to render *animus* and *caput* (e.g. page 6, line 9) by 'person' and 'people.' Cf. the English: Old King Cole was a merry old *soul*. Walton, Angler, 56: It shall be given away to some poor *body*.

18. admiratio: *surprise.* **incipientem**: *him, as he began.* Livy frequently uses the present participle as a substantive.

20. Et ceteri quidem . . . postquam: Latin minimizes the first clause by putting *quidem* in it; English does the same by an adversative *but* at the beginning of the next clause. Translate: *The others . . . but after.*

21. agere: *speak* or *plead.* Take *varie* with *agere;* it is explained by *rogando alternis suadendoque.* **alternis**: sc. *vicibus.*

22, 23. ut pateretur: after *rogando suadendoque.*

24. privato: *when he became a private citizen*, i.e. after his consulship. See note to page 1, line 1. Adjectives (including participles), which are used in common English mostly as attributes of nouns, in Latin often express time, cause, concession, or condition. Likewise adverbial phrases and ablatives absolute, which are generally modal or temporal with us, are frequently used in Latin to signify also cause or concession. Hence the student should beware of translating these by the simple corresponding English expressions but should use the proper clauses, e.g. *reddita*, page 4, line 16 and note.

27. ex: *in accordance with*, and so often. **ad populum tulit**: *proposed to the people*, i.e. the *comitia centuriata*, for their approval. This became the regular proceeding in the Republic.

27, 28. ut essent: the subjunctive is regular after verbs of proposing, as after those of decreeing. A. 563. B. 295.

29. creavit: Brutus, left alone in the consulship, presided at the election and *declared Valerius elected as his colleague. Creare* is the technical term for the act of the presiding officer who, at the close of the election, declared a man elected. It does not imply a 'steam roller' or a 'big stick.' **quo adiutore**: *by whose aid.*

31. inminere: expressions of doubting, when negatived, usually take a *quin* clause, but in Livy an infinitive sometimes follows. B. 298, a.

Page 4. **2. tenui loco orti**: *of low estate.*

3. aequales: *of the same age.*

4. Eam: i.e. to which they had been accustomed under the kings.

7. impetres: the verb means 'to gain what one is seeking' (never, 'to seek'). **ubi . . . sit**: literally, when right (or) when wrong

is the need, i.e. *whether right or wrong*. *ius* and *iniuria* are subjects of *sit*. A. 411, b. B. 218, 2, b.

8, 9. posse, nosse: sc. *regem*.

11. laxamenti, veniae: *relaxation, indulgence*.

12. excesseris: a future more vivid condition is expressed by the future or the future perfect indicative. In indirect discourse, in a primary sequence the future becomes the present subjunctive, the future perfect the perfect subjunctive; in a secondary sequence the future becomes imperfect subjunctive, the future perfect the pluperfect subjunctive.

13. innocentia: ablative. **vivere**: subject of *esse*. **aegris animis**: ablative absolute; cf. note to page 2, line 1. **sua**: is here a direct reflexive and refers to *animis*, subject of the ablative absolute (not to *legati*). Translate: *when they had worked themselves into an ugly frame of mind*.

14. tantum: *only*, and so frequently. With this meaning, it follows the word it modifies.

16. ea: attributive = *de ea re*.

16, 17. ne . . . essent: a fear or apprehension is implied in *consultatio tenuit*. **non reddita, reddita**: sc. *bona*, subject of *essent*. The participles express condition; they might be expanded into *nisi bona reddita essent, si reddita essent*. Cf. note to page 3, line 24.

18. legati moliri: it should be remembered that the subject of an historical infinitive is in the nominative.

26. adulescentes: *grown*.

27. Eos . . . adsumunt: *These also were taken by their uncles into partnership in the design*.

29. quorum . . . ablit: i.e. even their names have been forgotten.

32. spatium: often, as here, used of time. **a consulibus sumpsissent**: *had obtained from the consuls;* not only the reason which the ambassadors gave (hence the subjunctive), but also the true reason.

Page 5. **1. quibus . . . asportarent**: relative clause of purpose. A. 531, 2. B. 282, 2. It should be very carefully noted that dependent clauses may be differentiated according to (*a*) their introductory word, (*b*) what they express. Clauses that express purpose may be introduced by relatives (words that 'relate' definitely to some other word or expression, which usually precedes) or by *ut, ne*, etc. Roby, page 270 ff.

2. evincunt: *prevail*, a little stronger than *efficiunt*.

3. qui: old ablative on the *i*-stem, = *quo*, *how?* A. 150, b. B. 90, 2, a.

3, 4. crediturosne (*esse*): "rhetorical questions, . . . being asked merely for effect, and being equivalent in force to emphatic statements, regularly stand in the Infinitive in Indirect Discourse." B. 315, 2. Cf. A. 586. This is the question of the ambassadors.

6. pridie: equivalent to a comparative and therefore followed by a *quam* clause.

7. proficiscerentur: subjunctive of unfulfilled action. A. 551, b. B. 292, b. **apud**: *at the house of.* (French *chez.*)

8. arbitris: i.e. men who might inform against them, and so *witnesses.*

9. ut fit: *as is* (usually) *done, as is generally the case, as is natural* — a common phrase.

9, 10. ex servis unus: cardinal numerals (except *milia*) and *quidam* regularly take *ex* or *de* with the ablative instead of a partitive genitive. A. 346, c. B. 201, 1, a.

15. in primis: literally, *among the first*, then *especially;* an adverbial phrase often written as one word.

17. paululum: *a little while.* *-ulus* and *-olus* are diminutive endings.

18. commisisse: sometimes used without *facinus* or similar word = *offend.*

19. ius gentium: *the law of nations* or international law — a body of rules recognized by many nations, especially in the treatment of ambassadors and foreigners. (But see Sir F. Pollock's note E to Maine, Chap. III.)

20. integra: *afresh*, i.e. for reconsideration.

22. in publicum redigi: *to be converted into public property, confiscated* (*fiscus*, the public treasury; the verb *confisco* is post-Augustan).

23. contacta praeda: *seizure of the spoils.* The perfect passive participle with a noun is often equivalent to an abstract noun with a dependent genitive and is so to be translated. Cf. *ab urbe condita* = from the foundation of the city; *ad captam urbem* (page 20, line 15) = to the capture of the city. A. 497. B. 337, 6.

27. religiosum: *a matter of religious offence;* using the grain of a field that was consecrated to a god was an impious deed. Cf. note to page 24, lines 5, 6.

28, 29. vis hominum fudere: the verb is plural because *vis* connotes a multitude. Cf. 'A lot of people *were* there.' **tenui**: *low.*

30. mediis caloribus: *in mid-summer. medius = in the middle of* is frequent. A. 293. B. 241, 1. Notice that *caloribus* is plural; is not 'the heats of summer' just as logical as 'the heat of summer'?

31. sedisse: taking up the idea of indirect discourse again after *dicitur* of line 26. Latin passed from direct to indirect discourse and *vice versa* much more easily than English. Often there is no verb of saying or thinking expressed; cf. especially page 8, line 14. **et**: connects *inde* and *aliis.*

32. temere: *at random, by chance.*

Page 6. **1. moles**: the word is very indefinite; it may mean a mass of earth, or piles driven down, or stones to hold the earth. Livy is only guessing anyway. **manu**: *artificially.* **adiutum**: indefinite neuter.

5. conspectius eo: *the more remarkable on this account.*

6, 7. qui . . . amovendus: i.e. he ought not to have been present even as a spectator.

9. capitibus: *persons.* Cf. note to page 3, line 16.

10, 11. miserebat poenae homines: for construction A. 354, b. B. 209.

12. meriti essent: subjunctive in dependent clause in indirect discourse implied in *miserebat homines*, an expression of feeling. **potissimum** (from *potis*): adverbial accusative, = *most of all, especially, rather than any other;* to be distinguished from *potentissimum* (from *potens*) = *most powerful.*

12-15. patriam . . . esset: all objects of *proderent*, line 16.

13. domo Iunia: *the Junian gens*, to which Brutus belonged.

15. induxisse in animum: an idiomatic expression, = *to persuade* or *induce oneself.* The infinitive with subject accusative (*illos*, line 12) is used in exclamation. A. 462. B. 334.

16. sedem: *the tribunal*, a raised platform on which the seats of the magistrates were placed.

18. securi feriunt: *behead.*

19. spectaculo: dative of purpose. A. 382. B. 191.

19, 20. eminente . . . ministerium: *the feelings of the father in him being clearly manifest while he performed the duty of inflicting punishment on behalf of the state.*

20. Secundum: preposition with accusative, *after* (probably a participial form of *sequor*).

21. in utramque partem: *to both sides* or parties, the guilty (*nocentium*, line 21) and the informer (*indici*, line 22).

24. vindicta: the staff or rod with which a slave was touched during the ceremony of manumission. Cf. use of a sword in knighting.

Secession of the Plebs

Economic stress, so often the cause of internal strife and external war, had been causing trouble in the young republic between the patricians and the commons; and affairs came to such a pass, according to tradition, that the sentences of the consuls against debtors (belonging to the commons, of course) could not be carried out on account of mob interference, nor would the people respond to a levy to make up an army against some hostile neighbors. There were even nocturnal meetings to concert measures against the patricians. Finally a dictator was appointed, levies were held, three wars were prosecuted successfully, and the citizen army returned to Rome with the expectation of having their wrongs redressed. But the dictator was forced out of office and nothing was done. Such is Livy's account of the events that preceded the secession of the plebs in B.C. 494.

Page 6. **30. habitus esset** and **iurassent** (page 7, line 1) are subjunctives in dependent clauses in indirect discourse after *rati*.

Page 7. **1. in consulum verba iurassent**: *had taken the oath of allegiance to the consuls*, required when they were sworn into the army.

5. religionem: *religious obligation;* an oath was regarded as such.

8, 9. Ea, etc.: *This account is commoner than that of which*, etc. Notice that *fama* is not repeated after *quam* and that no pronoun is substituted for it. "The repetition of a noun, or the substitution of a pronoun for it, is avoided unless a different case is required." A. 601, e. Cf. note to page 11, line 24.

9. Piso: Lucius Calpurnius Piso Frugi, consul B.C. 133, wrote a history of Rome from the earliest period in annals. The work was frequently referred to by ancient writers. **Aventinum**: sc. *montem*.

11. sumendo: modal ablative. A. 507, 1. B. 338, 4, a.

13. ingens: used excessively often by Livy. It was a favorite adjective with the poets.

14. relicta: agreeing with *plebis*, which is nominative. The forms *plebs* and *plebes* as nominatives are much more commonly found.

17. fore, futurum: in rhetorical questions. Cf. note to page 5, lines 3, 4.

18. quod: indefinite. A. 310, a. B. 252, 1.

19. ducere: *they thought;* historical infinitive, parallel to *timere*, line 15.

20. per aequa per iniqua: *by fair means or by foul.* Such stock phrases are often put together without conjunctions (asyndeton). **reconciliandam**: *must be restored.*

21. placuit: impersonal, and so very frequently; *it was decided*, followed by infinitive and subject accusative, or by an *ut* clause with subjunctive. **oratorem**: not an orator, but a *spokesman* or an ambassador charged with a verbal message.

22. inde: i.e. *a plebe.*

24, 25. prisco . . . modo: *in the primitive uncouth style* (*modo dicendi*) *of those days* (*illo*).

26. omnia: sc. *membra.* **in unum consentientia**: *harmonious*, working according to one general plan. This phrase explains *nunc.*

27. suum cuique consilium: for *suus* in the subject see A. 301, b. B. 244, 4. *cuique* is in partitive apposition with *membris.* A. 282, a. B. 169, 5.

30. nihil aliud: sc. *facere.* **conspirasse**: the subject is *reliquas partes*, line 28.

31. inde: temporal, *thereupon*; = *deinde*, and frequently so used by Livy.

Page 8. **1. una**: = *singula.* It is not often used in the plural.

4. hunc: goes with *sanguinem*, line 6.

5. maturum confecto cibo: *perfected by the digestion* (*confecto*) *of food.* — The sentence is complex but can be worked out by a simple process of logic.

6. quam: *how.*

8. flexisse: in this paragraph there are two indirect discourses, one within the other: the first after *fertur* (page 7, line 25) taking the infinitives *narrasse* (ib.) and *flexisse* (page 8, line 8); the second after *narrasse*, extending as far as page 8, line 6.

9. Agi: *agere* used in this way means 'to take up a matter for discussion,' 'to treat of' or 'consider'; in the passive, 'the matter is

up for discussion,' 'there is a question about this.' Cf. the French *il s'agit.* **deinde**: probably B.C. 493 (Livy II, 33, 3). **concessum in condiciones ut**: literally, it was compromised into the stipulations that; *a compromise was effected on these terms, namely, that.* Livy implies that the plebs had yielded a point because the tribunes were not really officials of the state as a whole and had no positive power in directing affairs, but could only veto (*I forbid*, cf. page 23, line 6) the act of a magistrate which interfered with the liberty of a plebeian.

10. essent: subjunctive after a verb of conceding or deciding. A. 563, d. B. 295, 2 and 4.

11. cui: indefinite; cf. *quod*, page 7, line 18.

12, 13. tribuni plebei creati: it is uncertain how the tribunes were elected at first; after B.C. 471 (*lex Publilia Voleronis*) they were chosen in a *concilium plebis* which voted by tribes. C.L.S. # 323.

14. fuisse: sc. *fertur.*

15. de duobus . . . convenit: *concerning the other two, who they were, people do not agree. convenit* is impersonal, = *constat.*

17. sacratam legem: *the consecrated law*, the practical result of which was to make the persons of tribunes inviolable; it was consecrated by the oath of the plebs. Cf. page 9, line 16 ff. and C.L.S. # 322.

18. Agrippa Menenius: the placing of *cognomen* before *nomen* (very rare in formal Latin of the Ciceronian period) was common in colloquial Latin and was accepted by the writers of the Silver Age. Livy represents in his style a transition to the latter.

20. interpreti arbitroque: *who had been mediator and umpire.*

22. sumptus funeri: *money to defray the expenses of a funeral.* **Extulit . . . capita**: *He was buried by the plebeians, who each contributed a sextans* (the sixth part of an *as*, perhaps about 16 cents). What a fine old Roman he must have been!

The Valerio-Horatian Laws

Although the plebeians had tribunes to protect their individual liberty and an assembly, *concilium plebis* (probably instituted about B.C. 471), in which they could express their opinions, their position was far from satisfactory. They had no means of knowing the law, which they were supposed to obey, but which was almost a secret property of the patricians. Justice was administered in accordance with the custom which was handed down by word of mouth from one

patrician magistrate to another, and was the special province of the College of Pontiffs. To remedy this, ten men called decemvirs were appointed and the result of the whole agitation was the promulgation of a Code, the Twelve Tables, in B.C. 449. Further efforts (probably in the same year) of the plebeians to improve their condition are here told by Livy.

Page 8. **24. interregem**: according to Livy's account, no consuls had been elected while the decemvirs were in office; the latter were finally forced out of office and an *interrex* was appointed. — An *interrex* was an extraordinary official appointed from the patrician members of the Senate, when for any reason the state was left without chief magistrates. He held the powers of the chief magistracy for not more than 5 days and was then obliged either to appoint a successor or to hold an election of consuls (the first *interrex* apparently did not have the auspices and could not hold an election). The period during which the state was governed by *interreges* was called an *interregnum*.

25. Quorum: for translation see note to page 1, line 3.

26. patrum: objective genitive. **nec**: *yet not.*

27. quidquid . . . caveretur: *whatever measures were taken to guard the liberty of the plebs*, i.e. any increase in their rights.

29. in controverso iure: *a matter of controversy.*

30. plebi scitis: ordinances passed by the plebeian assembly; often written as one word; English 'plebiscite.' **legem . . . tulere**: sc. *consules;* for meaning see note to page 3, line 27. *lex* = proposition introduced in the *comitia*, 'bill'; and also = proposition passed by *comitia*, 'law.'

Page 9. **1. tributim**: the *concilium plebis* was organized, and voted, by tribes; it had a plebeian tribune as president. C.L.S. # 323. **plebis**: nominative, see note to page 7, line 14. Notice the distinction between *plebis*, the common people, and *populus*, the whole people or state. By this and later developments, the plebs got an organization of its own so that it became an *imperium in imperio.*

1, 2. tribuniciis rogationibus: *the proposals of the tribunes* in the plebeian assembly; the tribunes asked (*rogare*) whether the people would approve the measure proposed. Cf. page 10, line 1. Ordinarily, Roman assemblies (whether *comitia* or *concilium plebis*) had no power of initiating or of amending measures; they could only vote yes or no on questions put by a magistrate. C. L. S. #317.

3. consularem: i.e. proposed by one of the consuls. **provocatione**: appeal from the decision of a magistrate to the people (*comitia centuriata*).

4. decemvirali . . . eversam: the right of appeal had been removed when the decemvirs were appointed. (Livy II, 32, 6.)

7. creasset: representing the future perfect of the direct discourse; see note to page 4, line 12. **ius fasque**: legal right and religious right.

8. capitalis noxae: genitive of quality, but with the partitive idea very strong, as often. Translate: *a capital offence.*

8, 9. hinc, hinc: *on the one hand, on the other.*

10. tribunis: dative of reference. A. 376. B. 188, 1. **ut . . . viderentur**: depends on *renovarunt* (line 12) as a verb of deciding, = *they renewed the provision that.*

12, 13. cum, tum: *both, and.*

14. iudicibus decemviris: to be taken together as referring to the *decemviri stlitibus iudicandis*, a judicial body apparently established to protect the rights of plebeians. Abbott R. P. I. #243.

15, 16. Cereris, Liberi, Liberaeque: deities of agriculture, especially worshipped by the plebeians. Their temple, to which the proceeds of this sale would be dedicated, was at the foot of the Aventine.

16. venum iret: *should be sold.* **Hac lege**: notice the emphatic position at the very beginning of the sentence; its logical place is with *sacrosanctum*. This freedom in the arrangement of Latin sentences gives a wonderful opportunity to express the relative importance of ideas. "A Latin written sentence, therefore, has all the clearness and expression which could be given to a spoken discourse by the best actor in English." A. 597.

18. nocuerit: perfect subjunctive, of course. **sacrum**: the word means *consecrated to a divinity* (cf. *Iovi sacrum*, line 15) with a good or bad accessory significance; here this is bad, hence *accursed, forfeited, devoted for destruction.* — The whole passage appears to mean that, according to jurists, this new law did not render the persons of the magistrates mentioned sacrosanct, but provided a punishment for the violation of such magistrates. Hence a higher magistrate could arrest an aedile and take the risk of prosecution under this law. Tribunes, however, were made sacrosanct not by this law, but by the oath sworn by the plebs when the tribunate was established; hence a violation of them even by a high magistrate was, not an offence against this law, but high treason.

19. prendi ducique: sc. *in vincula, arrested and imprisoned.*

20. noceri: impersonal passive, *harm is done.*

24. Horatia: laws were usually named from their proposers, or their subject (e.g. *De sicariis et veneficis*) or both (e.g. *lex Atia de sacerdotiis*, proposed by Atius). In the first case, the name of the proposer became an adjective agreeing with *lex.*

26. crearentur: *were elected*, sc. *praetores.*

28. praetorem: *praeitor* (*prae, eo*), a leader or president; used by Livy also of a dictator (VII, 3). Cf. Cicero, Legg. 3, 3, 8: *Regio imperio duo sunto, iique praeeundo, iudicando, consulendo, praetores iudices consules appellamino.* But according to this the consul *was* called *iudex.*

30. senatus consulta: the regular name for the ordinances of the senate. If copies of these were deposited in the plebeian temple, which was under the charge of plebeian aediles, they could not be changed at any later time by patrician magistrates.

Page 10. **3. tergo ac capite puniretur**: i.e. flogged and beheaded.

4. ut, ita: *as, so;* then, *to be sure, but still;* or *though, yet.*

The Canuleian Law

Page 10. **6. Hos**: the consuls of the preceding year (Titus Quinctius Capitolinus, Agrippa Furius).

7. anni: B.C. 445. **et**: correlative with *et* in line 10.

10. iura gentium: *the rights of the gentes*, or family groups (not as on page 5, line 18, 'the law of nations'). In early times, plebeians had no *gens.* The *gentes* had religious and political significance because the early state had been organized about them, and their members had special privileges such as the right to hold the *imperium*, to take auspices, and to be elected to the great priesthoods with which went also knowledge of the law. The family rites and prerogatives would be confounded by the introduction of unconsecrated plebeian blood; cf. page 11, lines 4–6.

11. alterum: *one; alter* means 'the other of two' only when one has been mentioned.

12. eo: adverb, *so far*, antecedent of the *ut* clause. Cf. page 1, line 19.

15. vulgari cum: *be made common by being shared with.*

16. Laeti: adverbial use of adjective; cf. *totam*, page 11, line 13. A. 290. B. 239.

17. ob iniuriam agri abiudicati: for translation of perfect passive participle with noun see note to page 5, line 23. — Ardea and Aricia, disputing over some territory, had appointed the Romans as arbitrators and the latter had settled the difficulty by taking the land for themselves. (Livy III, 71.)

18. descisse: there had been an ancient alliance between Rome and Ardea, according to Livy IV, 7 and 9.

20. vel: *even.*

21. His . . . acceptis: *And so, when exaggerated reports* (of these events) *had been received.* **ut . . . conticiscerent**: expresses purpose, with *iubent.*

23. quo: ablative of the indefinite pronoun, expressing degree of difference.

24. T. Quinctio: Titus Quinctius Capitolinus, consul for the fourth time the year before and leader in the war of that year against the Aequi and Volsci, for which he aroused great enthusiasm. (Livy III, 66–70.)

25. in senatu: notice that Canuleius, a tribune, is said to have spoken in the *senate.* Apparently about this time, the tribunes were given seats in the senate and could interpose their veto without waiting for a bill to be sent down to the people.

27. se vivo: for construction see note to page 2, line 1.

29. advocavit: the subject is *Canuleius* (line 25), which is modified by the participle *vociferatus* whose object is *pauca* explained by the indirect discourse as far as *scivisset* (line 28), — a good example of the Latin period. In English we tend to use short, distinct sentences. "In Latin, on the contrary, the story or argument is viewed as a whole; and the logical relation among all its parts is carefully indicated." A. 600. Also B. 351, 5. The object to be understood with *advocavit* is *plebem.*

The Consular Tribunes

Page 11. **1, 2. perpetuis orationibus**: *continuous speeches.* **alter**: sc. *consulum.*

3, 4. ut, sic: like *ut, ita*, page 10, line 4.

6. incerta prole: children of a patrician father and a plebeian mother, *unworthy stock* because of the infusion of unhallowed blood.

9. ante: with *quam*, line 11. *antequam* and *priusquam* are frequently thus separated (tmesis).

10. ipsa: sc. *plebes.* **pertinacia** is ablative.

11. ut . . . ferretur: sc. *ad populum;* the senate gave its *auctoritas* and then the bill was brought into the assembly.

13. totam: adverbial; see note to page 10, line 16. **post**: *till after.*

15. ingens: *of immense influence, grown mighty.*

16. pro rogatione sua: the proposal *de plebeis consulibus.* Canuleius was now supported in his struggle by the other tribunes, who interposed their veto against every proposal, so that no business at all could be done. Notice how the tribunes of the people can now bring even the senate to a standstill and compare this with their original power, page 8, lines 9–11 and notes.

17. in dies: *day by day.*

21. Valerius, Horatius: for their position see page 8, the Valerio-Horatian Laws.

22. C. Claudi sententia armabat: The Latin says: the motion of Claudius armed the consuls; whereas in English we say: *Claudius moved that the consuls be armed.* Cf. lines 23, 24, *Quinctiorum sententiae abhorrebant a* (= *made motions against*) and page 4, line 30, *sententia, quae censebat reddenda bona.* (Strictly speaking, in Roman assemblies there could be no motions from the floor because of the limitations mentioned in note to page 9, lines 1, 2; but the magistrate who proposed a measure might ask individuals for their opinions, *sententiae.*) The present gathering was an informal caucus of senators.

24. violandisque quos: when *is, ea, id* would stand in the same case as the relative, or when (as here) there is an adjectival modifier, the *is, ea, id* is usually omitted. Cf. note to page 7, lines 8, 9. **foedere icto**: *when the agreement was made* (literally, *struck*, because an animal was slaughtered on the occasion); after the first secession, cf. page 8, line 9 ff.

25. Per . . . res: *The result of these deliberations was.*

25–29. The consulship was therefore not opened to plebeians, but the senate might vote in any year that the state should be governed during the next year by military tribunes with consular powers, who might be plebeians. This still left the power pretty much in the hands of the patricians.

30. comitia: *elections.*

Page 12. **3. candidati**: *as candidates.*

4, 5. honoris, honos: *office.*

8. alios: *that men's feelings are one thing in*, etc., *but quite another after*, etc.

10. tribunos: sc. *militum*, of course.

13. inveneris: potential, the perfect being used in much the same sense as the present. **populi universi**: predicate possessive genitive. A. 343. B. 198, 3.

The Censorship

Page 12. **14. Hunc annum**: B.C. 444.

14, 15. seu . . . habuit: there was some difference of opinion as to whether the military tribunes resigned and consuls were elected to take their place, or not. Livy (on the authority of Licinius Macer) holds that they did and that Papirius and Sempronius were elected consuls in the third month of the year. (Livy IV, 7.) **suffectos**: *elected to take the place of.*

19–23. "The censor's duties consisted in assessing the property of citizens, and arranging them in tribes, classes, and centuries, and in managing the finances of the state. Later . . . the duty of revising the lists of senators and knights was entrusted to him." Abbott, page 69. Two censors were elected by the *comitia centuriata* every five years and held office for a year and a half.

25, 26. neque consulibus operae erat: *nor did the consuls have leisure.*

27. consularem: *suited to the office of consul.*

30. quamquam: with *parvam*. **tamen**: with *laeti*, page 13, line 1.

Page 13. **3. praeessent**: i.e. held the office.

4. id . . . erat: *which* (or *as*) *was really the case.* Notice how Latin puts these parenthetic clauses near the beginning, whereas English usually has them at the end of the clause to which they refer.

4, 5. magis . . . intuentes: *seeing in it the administration of an office that was necessary rather than ornamental.*

6. incommode: *inopportunely;* they would let the trifles go and save their opposition for important matters.

8. quorum . . . dubitatur: see note to page 12, lines 14, 15.

9. parum solidum: *incomplete; parum* and *minus* are often practically equivalent in force to *non.*

10. censores: predicate. **ab re**: *from their business.*

The Senate votes Pay for the Army

Page 13. 12. deinde: Anxur, a town of the Volsci, had been captured and the armies of Rome were allowed to plunder it (about 400 B.C.). Livy says that "this generosity of the commanders first reconciled the plebs to the *patres.*" Sometime afterward (*deinde*) the senate, as the highest financial board in the state, decided to pay the soldiers for military services. **omnium**: with *maxime* (cf. *omnium primum*, page 2, line 8). Translate: *with a generosity of the principal men, which was the most timely ever shown.*

14. decerneret: substantive clause of result after *additum* (*est*). A. 569, 2. B. 297, 2.

15. suo: from substantive *suum*, see lexicon s.v. *suus.*

19. appellatos: the subject is to be supplied from *exeuntium.* **fatentibus**: probably ablative absolute, with subject implied from the preceding: *The people acknowledging that it had been brought about that.*

21, 22. Cum commoditas iuvaret: *while the material benefits pleased them.* The infinitive clause following explains *commoditas* and is indirect discourse as being the thought of the plebs. **acquiescere**: formerly their property (*res familiaris*) had been burdened by the expense of their maintenance in the field, while they themselves fought.

24. oblatum esset: sc. *stipendium;* subjunctive because it is represented as the reason of the *plebs.* Livy projects himself into the position of the plebeians and the suggestion of indirect discourse (as if *plebs gavisa est* stood at the head of the sentence) influences the construction; hence *sibi* (line 24) and *suis* (line 25), indirect reflexives referring to the subject *plebs* understood. But the second reason for their joy is summed up in *id* by Livy, who then makes the statement on his own part (indicative) that this increased their rejoicing.

27. laetitiae, concordiae: with *expertes.* A. 349, a. B. 204, 1.

29. quam: *as.* **specie prima**: *at first sight.*

Page 14. 1. confici: in a rhetorical question; note to page 5, lines 3, 4. **populo**: dative after *indicto.*

2. alieno: neuter, *what belonged to others.* **largitos** (*esse*):

the subject is indefinite, *they*, referring to all the people and the *patres* in particular.

3. stipendia: *campaigns.* Cf. page 13, line 14, where it means the pay for these campaigns.

5. in aliorum: sc. *stipendia.* Cf. note to page 7, lines 8, 9. **His vocibus**: *by these arguments.*

8. militare: = *militum*: note to page 1, line 13.

9. tueri: *supported.*

10. nondum signatum: the origin of Roman coinage is a disputed point, but it is safer to follow the evidence of the coins we have found than the literary notices about money. Therefore we must put the beginning of coinage at Rome about 350 B.C. Sums of money are mentioned before this, but they were probably weights of bronze. The currency which came to be called *aes grave* was of course *signatum* and appears to have been first issued in the latter half of the fourth century B.C. Hence Livy's use of *aes grave* here (for B.C. 400) must, strictly speaking, be an anachronism, or else the term must be taken in a very general sense = heavy bronze pieces weighed, not counted.

11. speciosam etiam: *even showy;* it became a matter of pride.

12. senatus: rather, the senators as individuals. **ex censu**: *according to their assessment.*

13. ex conposito: *according to a preconcerted plan.*

14. a militari aetate: *by the men of military age.*

16. certamen . . . ortum: i.e. they began to vie with one another in paying the tax.

17. perlata: *passed*, by the *comitia centuriata.*

18. magna ex parte: *in great part, chiefly;* with *voluntarium.*

The Capture of Veii

No notes are given for this passage, as it is intended for sight translation.

Roman History more Trustworthy after the Second Founding of the City

Page 20. **15. ab condita urbe, ad captam urbem**: for translation of perfect passive participles with nouns, see note to page 5, line 23. — The city (except the citadel) was captured and burnt by Gallic invaders about B.C. 390 (Mommsen).

17. decemviris: the board of ten (B.C. 451–449) which promulgated the Twelve Tables. See note to The Valerio-Horatian Laws, page 8.

18. quinque libris: the preceding five books which brought the history of Rome down through the burning of the city.

21. litterae: *written records.*

22. in commentariis pontificum: specifically these were the records of the decrees of the pontifices concerning religious matters; but Livy probably used the words in their general sense to include the *annales maximi*, which were records of the most important events of each year (*annales*) composed by the *Pontifex Maximus*.

23. monumentis: *documents.* Private documents would consist of family records, such as funeral orations (*laudationes*) and inscriptions (*tituli*) on death masks (*imagines*), — pretty sure to be overdrawn by pious relatives and friends.

24, 25. secunda origine: the rebuilding of the city after the burning is called a second founding. **ab stirpibus**: a frequent metaphor; 'from the foundations,' 'from top to bottom,' 'entirely.' **laetius feraciusque renatae**: *reborn under happier and more hopeful* (literally, *richer*) *auspices.*

The Licinio-Sextian Laws

Page 20. 27. Quanto magis: to be taken with *tranquilla.* **eo anno**: probably B.C. 378; the wars referred to were with neighboring Latin towns.

Page 21. 1. quod . . . solvi: the implication is that immediate payment was demanded by the patrician creditors, and that the poor debtors, being unable to meet their demands, were condemned (*iudicati*) and thrown into bondage (*addicti*), where they had few means of paying at all. The *addicti*, bondmen, were not properly slaves, but were under the power of their creditors until they paid off the debt. Cf. note to page 25, line 28.

2. ex re: sc. *familiari.* All their property would have been sold or pledged before, so that their persons (*corpus*) were the only means of satisfying the debt. This bondage would bring with it degradation (loss of *fama*).

4. poenaque . . . fidei: *and punishment had taken the place of credit.*

4, 5. Adeo . . . obnoxios: literally, they had let their humiliated spirits sink to such a degree.

6. non modo: = *non modo non* often before *ne . . . quidem*. A. 217, e. B. 343, 2, a.

7. quod ut liceret: *to gain which; quod* is really subject of *liceret*.

9. acri experientique: *energetic and enterprising*.

10. usurpati modo: *simply assumed*.

13. moliundi: *of effecting*.

14. sui corporis: i.e. *patriciorum*. We speak of Congress as a *body*.

16. genus: *class*, i.e. plebeians.

16, 17. filiae duae nuptae . . . erat: the plural subject is separated into its components, and each of these is considered separately; hence *erat* singular.

20. sorores Fabiae: women were known by the *nomen* of their *gens;* the daughters of *Fabius* were (*sorores*) *Fabiae*, *Fabia maior* and *Fabia minor*.

22, 23. forem percuteret: when a person sought admission to a house, he knocked with a staff or kicked on the outside or street door, which often stood open by day. *pultare*, *pellere*, and *percutere* are used to express this.

23. moris eius insueta: but her father had been military tribune, as Livy himself says (VI, 22, 5), and it seems almost impossible that she should have been ignorant of this custom. This makes us suspect the story.

25, 26. stimulos . . . subdidit: *stung her, for a woman's feelings are stirred by insignificant things*.

27. num quid vellet: in direct discourse: *num quid vis?* a polite formula = *Is there anything I can do for you? quid* is indefinite after *num*.

28. sui: sc. *matrimoni*, genitive after *paenituisse;* the repetition of a noun with a second modifier is avoided in Latin as in English; cf. Cicero, *de Senectute* V: *Est . . . placida ac lenis senectus, qualem accepimus Platonis . . . , such as we are told that of Plato was*. English usually puts in the pronoun *that*.

30. morsu animi: *annoyance* (literally, *bite;* cf. *stimulos*, line 25, *sting*).

30, 31. "Satin salvae?": a common formula of greeting; the full form might be: *Satisne salvae res se habent?* Cf. the English: 'Are things going pretty well?'

31. piam: *pietas* is used of dutifulness toward any one; here it would be 'sisterliness'; towards the gods, it means piety; toward a father, filial conduct.

Page 22. **2. inpari**: *to a man beneath her rank.* **honos**: *political office*, and specifically, the consulship, to which Stolo, a plebeian, could not attain. Cf. note to page 11, lines 25–29.

4. prope diem: often written as one word.

7. cuius spei . . . deesset: i.e. he had ambition (*spei*) and every qualification necessary for success except patrician birth. The clause is equivalent to an adjective balancing *strenuo;* hence *et*, which English would omit.

9. vim: *amount*, or perhaps, *pressure.*

9, 10. cuius . . . speraret: *an evil, of which the plebs could hope for no alleviation, unless men of their own order* (*suis*) *were placed*, etc.

10, 11. accingendum esse: *they must gird themselves* (they thought). The passive voice sometimes has a reflexive significance like the Greek middle. Cf. *aequari*, line 13. A. 156, a. Cf. *utor* with ablative = I employ myself with; A. 410, note.— Girding up the garments was a preparation for a hard or important task; cf. II Kings IV, 29: Gird up thy loins, and take my staff in thine hand, and go thy way. . . . Then it was used metaphorically, as here.

11, 12. gradum fecisse: *they had advanced*, by gaining the consular tribunate, etc.

16. leges: *bills.*

18. ut deducto, etc.: *that, after deducting from the principal what had been paid in interest, the balance* (*id quod superesset*) *should be paid*, etc.

21. plus quingenta iugera: *plus* with numerals = *plus quam.* A. 407, c. B. 217, 3.— This provision implies that several people held more than 500 *iugera* = about 330 acres, but the territory of Rome at that time was not large enough to admit of many such holdings. Hence suspicion has fallen on Livy's account. **possideret**: there was no question of ownership; but when the land set apart as *ager publicus* in newly acquired territory was thrown open to Roman citizens, some of the wealthier men would occupy huge tracts and maintain their occupation against intrusion by others. This occupation with the intention to maintain control was possession, not ownership; and it related to public, not private, domains. See Maine VIII with Pollock's note O.

29, 30. collegas conparaverunt: i.e. the patricians persuaded some of the plebeian tribunes to promise to veto (cf. *intercessionem*, page 23, line 4) the bills of their colleagues, Licinius and Sextius.

32. sollemne: *stated ceremony* or procedure, such as the reading of bills by the clerk.

Page 23. **1. ad sciscendum plebi**: *for voting by the plebs. plebi* is probably dative of agent with the gerund.

2. concilio: sc. *plebis;* the Licinio-Sextian Laws were therefore *plebiscita.* **pro antiquatis**: *as good as* (i.e. *virtually*) *rejected.*

3. "Bene habet," etc.: colloquial, "*All right; since you want the veto to be so potent . . .* "

5. Agite dum: written sometimes as one word; *Come now pray. dum* is used as an enclitic with imperatives, originally meaning *a moment*, then simply intensifying the force of the command.

6. faxo: an old form found frequently in the comic poets and = *fecero* in sense. Roby 619. Translate: *I'll see to it that.*

8. praeter: *except those of aediles*, etc.

13. quinquennium: far too long a time for the Roman state to be without the leading magistrates. Other writers give four years and one year. — Modern criticism has caused suspicion to fall on much of this account of Livy; the story of the daughters of Fabius, the 500 *iugera*, and the five year *solitudo magistratuum* contain improbable features. But we may still believe that there was an agitation of this character at that time. And these rogations, probably with two other measures favorable to the plebeians, were passed in B.C. 367.

The Praetorship and the Curule Aedileship

Page 23. **14. Annus hic**: probably B.C. 366. **novi hominis**: a *new man* was the first member of any plebeian family to hold curule office.

15. praetura: at first there was one praetor and his duties were judicial. He was elected under the same auspices as the consuls, was considered *collega consulum*, and was capable of exercising the functions of the consuls; but in any conflict of functions, the consuls had *maius imperium.*

15, 16. curuli aedilitate: to be distinguished from the plebeian aedileship, though the two colleges came to be closely allied in functions, i.e. care of public places and of the corn supply, and the curule aedileship was opened to plebeians after a few years. Abbott R.P.I. ## 227–237.

16, 17. Hos . . . consulatu: probably the chief reason for the institution of these offices was that the consuls had more than they could do, now that Rome had grown into a large city.

18. Sp. Furio M. f. Camillo: i.e. Spurius Furius Camillus, the son of Marcus (Camillus). M. f. = *Marci filio.*

20. gratia campestri: *by their favor* (i.e. their votes) *in the Campus* (hence *campestri*) *Martius*, where the elections were held.

25. proferrentur: *were postponed.*

27. tacitum: modifies the following *quod* clause; translate by an adverb.

30. iura reddentem: *administering justice.*

Page 24. **2. iubendi**: with *verecundia.*

3. convenerat: *it had been agreed.* Cf. *convenit*, page 8, line 15.

The Dictator "clavi figendi causa"

Page 24. **5.** A pestilence spread through Rome and Livy says that "plays on a stage" (*ludi scaenici*) were introduced as a means of placating the wrath of heaven, apparently in vain. About 364 B.C. **procurandis**: for looking after, i.e. *for expiating.*

5, 6. religionibus, religione: the various meanings of this word should be studied; it can rarely be translated by 'religion.' Here it is first used of the pestilential *prodigies*, regarded as the effects of religious offence (Cf. Exodus VII, 3: And I will harden Pharaoh's heart, and multiply my signs and my wonders in the land of Egypt). In line 6, it refers to *religious fear* (e.g. of pestilence). In line 14, it means *religious scruple* (*Ea religione adductus = considering this a religious obligation.* Cf. page 7, line 5, of an oath). On page 25, line 2, it is applied to the *religious offence* as the cause of trouble (contrast the first use above and cf. *religiosum*, page 5, line 27).

12. repetitum (*esse*): *to have been discovered* by searching the record.

18. praetor: apparently in the generic sense, *chief* or *leader*, referring to consuls and dictators; cf. lines 27, 28 and note to page 9, line 28. **idibus Septembribus**: Sept. 13th. (The Roman calendar reckoning should be learned. A. 630, 631. B. 371, 372.)

19, 20. ex qua parte: *on the side where.* The temple was sacred to Juppiter, Juno, and Minerva, each of these deities having a chapel (*templum*) in it.

22. eoque: *and for this reason.*

25. Cincius: Lucius Cincius Alimentus, praetor B.C. 210; next to Q. Fabius Pictor, the oldest Roman historian. Like Fabius, he wrote in Greek.

26. Horatius: Marcus Horatius Pulvillus (Livy II, 8, 5), elected to fill the place of Lucius Junius Brutus, the first consul.

28. sollemne: *the ceremony.*

30. crearetur: for the subjunctive, A. 535, f. B. 282, 8.

Page 25. **1. perinde ac**: *just as if.*

3. adfectans: *eager for, striving for.*

5. abiit: = *abdicavit se.*

The Chasm in the Forum

Page 25. **6. Eodem anno**: B.C. 362.

7. medium ferme: *right in the middle.* For medius in this sense, A. 293. B. 241, 1. *ferme* (*fere*) is used in two chief senses: (1) *almost*, (2) *quite, just.* **specu vasto**: modal ablative; *in the form of an enormous chasm.*

9. pro se: *according to his ability*, i.e. as much as he could.

10, 11. plurimum posset (= *valeret*): *was strongest.*

11. dicandum: *must be devoted* to the gods, *sacrificed.* Cf. the idea in *sacrum*, note to page 9, line 18.

14. dubitantes: substantival (note to page 3, line 18), object of *castigasse.*

17, 18. deos manes: the deified souls of those who had died and were living in the Underworld, *the gods of the Lower World*, usually considered as benevolent spirits.

22. According to tradition, Titus Tatius was a king of the Sabines, who, after the rape of the Sabine women, ruled jointly with Romulus. (Livy I, 13.) Mettius Curtius was his general (ib. 12). — These stories of Mettius and of Marcus are aetiological myths to explain the name of a stagnant pool in the Forum. Cf. Beth-el = house of God, Genesis XXVIII, 10–19.

23. Cura non deesset: *I should not fail to investigate the matter.* Notice Livy's attempt to be critical. "We should be doing him great injustice if we failed to recognize his sincere desire to tell the truth, which he regarded as the first duty of the historian, and of which he continually gave evidence." Westcott xviii.

24. fama rerum standum est: *we must adhere to the legend.*

Abolition of the "Nexum"

Page 25. **27. Eo anno**: B.C. 326.

28. necti: *nexum* is the name of a *stricti iuris* contract of the primitive Roman law. It is generally understood as follows: by entering into it, with a solemn act of mancipation *per aes et libram*, i.e. by selling or pledging himself to his creditor, the debtor enabled the creditor, upon his failure to pay the debt, to seize him at once as if he had been condemned in a suit at law, in other words, to proceed at once to execution; this meant the bondage or imprisonment of the debtor, or selling him into foreign slavery, unless some third person called a *vindex* interfered and successfully disputed in court the legality of the creditor's proceeding. The debtor's prospect of deliverance from bondage was usually hopeless. It was against this harsh law that the plebeians are represented as revolting. Cf. Sohm, Institutes, Index s. vv. *mancipatio*, *nexum*.

Page 26. **1. Papirius, Publilius**: the names of the consuls of the year B.C. 320. The story has the air of a dramatic fiction, its motive being the desire of furnishing a striking occasion for the passage of a famous law. Cf. the stories of the sisters Fabiae, page 21, line 14 ff., and of Lucretia, note to page 1, line 4.

2. quae aetas formaque: *at an age when, and of a beauty which*, etc.

4, 5. fructum adventicium: *an accidental profit or advantage* in addition to the strict legal right of the creditor.

8. ingenuitatis: the unfortunate *nexus*, though actually for the time in bondage, was still legally a free man (*ingenuus*), not a slave.

9. verbera: *whips, scourges*.

18. inpotentem: *violent* (lacking in self-restraint).

19. vinculum fidei: *bond*, we should rather say, *bulwark, of credit*. **iussi**: by a *senatus consultum* the consuls were bidden to propose a *lex* to the *comitia* (*centuriata* or *tributa*). This is the famous *lex Poetelia*, often referred to in history as having abolished imprisonment for debt.

20. noxam meruisset: those who committed a tort were exempted from the benefit of the new law, which was intended to relieve those who had borrowed money.

The Censorship of Appius Claudius

Page 26. **24. censura**: see page 12, lines 14 ff. and note to page 12, lines 19–23. **eo anno**: B.C. 312.

26. viam munivit: *built a road*, the famous *via Appia* from Rome to Capua, about 120 miles long. It was the first *via publica* and involved difficult feats of engineering, as it went through the Pomptine marshes and over rocky hills. **aquam duxit**: the first of the great aqueducts to supply Rome with pure water. It came from the hills to the east, was nearly 8 miles long, and ran underground for a considerable distance.

27. infamem, lectionem: sc. *Appi*.

29, 30. pertinaciam obtinuit: i.e. he carried on the tradition for obstinacy in his family. — Professor Mommsen, in a paper entitled The Patrician Claudii (published as appendix to Vol. I of the English translation), has shown that the spiteful bias against the Claudian gens, found first in Livy and current in later writings, does not appear in earlier documents, and he comes to the conclusion that some violent demagogue (perhaps Licinius Macer, whom Livy used) must have misinterpreted the characters of the patrician Claudii.

Page 27. **2. familiare**: *an hereditary duty*, coming down from the time Hercules was in Italy, according to tradition. (Livy I, 7.)

3. eius sacri: *of this rite*.

5. sacris religionem facere: *to create a religious scruple against removing rites*, etc.

6. ad: *about*.

7. cum stirpe: *together with the stock*, i.e. the entire family. Cf. *ab stirpe* = *utterly*, page 29, line 26, and *ab stirpibus*, page 20, line 25.

9. luminibus captum: *struck with blindness*. Different accounts of this are given and it is probable that Appius was not really blind at all, for he was twice afterward consul and 14 years later he led an army.

11. cum: for *cum inversum* with the indicative, A. 546, a. B. 288, 2.

14. Aemilia lege: an enactment of the dictator Mamercus Aemilius in B.C. 434, mentioned in Livy IV, 24. Livy implies (below, line 22) that the first censorship (B.C. 443) lasted for 5 years.

18. actionem: *the question*. Notice this positive power that the tribunes now had and cf. notes to page 8, line 9, and page 10, line 25.

19. vulgus, optimo cuique: notice the contrast between the common people as an indistinguishable mass, and the individual members of the aristocracy or *optimates*.

21, 22. laudibus ferret: *spoke of with praise.*

22. et: connecting *quinquennalem* and *dominantem*, modifiers of *censuram*.

24. agedum: note to page 23, line 5.

30. quodque postremum iussisset: *and because it was the latest order of the people.* Livy makes Appius contend that the Aemilian law applied only to the tenure of Furius and Geganius, the censors in office when it was passed; the implication is that after them the old five-year rule prevailed, which was not true, as Sempronius points out. It must be remembered that conversations and speeches in an ancient historian were largely dramatic devices to bring home to readers the feelings and motives on which he considered the speaker acted.

Page 28. **1. inquit**: sc. *Sempronius.*

2. progenies: he was the great, great grandson. For the decemvirate see note to page 8, The Valerio-Horatian Laws. (Cf. Livy III, 35.)

3. altero: *second*, and so often.

10. duo exercitus: in apposition with the subject of *insedistis*. The occasion was in B.C. 449 when the plebs seceded for the second time and the decemvirs were brought to terms by force.

10, 11. faenebres, agrarias: for example (1) in B.C. 495, shortly before the First Secession. An Appius Claudius was consul then and opposed the measures according to Livy II, 23. (2) at the Second Secession when an Appius Claudius was one of the decemvirs who promulgated the Twelve Tables. (Livy VI, 40.)

11. connubia: the Twelve Tables forbade this. Cf. page 10, The Canuleian Law, and page 11, line 6.

14. Itane tandem: *Can it really be?* Join closely with the following.

17. duodecim tabulas: they contained the provision mentioned below in lines 21, 22: *ubi duae contrariae leges sunt, semper antiquae obrogat nova.*

17, 18. esse, iussisset: past general condition in indirect discourse, *esse* for the imperfect indicative of the direct.

22. An: (*or*) *do you mean to say?*

26, 27. ira finitae potestatis: *on account of their anger at the limitation of their power.*

28. aerarium: a citizen of the lowest class, who had no right to vote. For this arbitrary power of the censor even over a former dictator, see Abbott, R. P. I. 210.

29. tenet C. Plautium: if Plautius resigned on account of the 18-month rule, what is the sense of *verecundia victus*, page 26, lines 27, 28?

31. ut qui . . . esset: *as one who was elected censor with the fullest power* that censors always had; part of the old *lex* under which censors were chosen, so also *mutatis mutandis* of that for the other magistrates and the *rex sacrificulus* (page 29, line 1 ff.). The significance was that any newly elected magistrates should have all the powers and prerogatives exercised by their predecessors. The argument of Sempronius is directed against taking the phrase literally in regard to any magistracy, specifically against the ancient 5-year term of censors which had not been kept for over 100 years. The traditional practice of the previous century must count — it always does, especially in unwritten constitutions like Rome's.

Page 29. **1. regem sacrificiorum**: = *regem sacrificulum*, page 2, line 21.

6. isti: sc. *Claudio.*

10. Maenius: had been appointed dictator to make investigations (*quaestiones*) into cabals and conspiracies against the state, including those made *honorum adipiscendorum causa.* (Livy IX, 26.)

11, 12. contagio . . . ab inimicis est: freely, *was accused by his enemies of being tainted* (*contagio*) *by that very crime which*, etc.

16, 17. modo ne excedas finitum tempus: *only do not exceed the fixed time.*

20, 21. The rule was that if one censor retired or died, his colleague must then withdraw from the office. The powers were far too important and arbitrary to be put into the hands of one man. Abbott, R. P. I. § 206.

21–28. Paenitet . . . quod . . . nisi: *it is not enough . . . that . . . but.*

22, 23. solum . . . deo: *the only one instituted by the god in whose honor it is performed*, i.e. the rites of the Potitii who had helped entertain Hercules in Italy. Cf. page 27, line 1 ff.

25. deorum: objective genitive, *to the gods.*

27. nefario: here a noun (a "substantived adjective").

29. eo lustro: *lustrum* was properly a purificatory sacrifice and procession made by the censors once in 5 years (unless circumstances forbade it; cf. Livy III, 22); then, as here, the period of five years. Julius and Papirius were elected censors in B.C. 393 and probably Cornelius was elected into the place of Julius the next year. The Gauls burnt the city after the battle on the Allia July 18th, 390 (Mommsen). Livy (V, 31) says of the election of Cornelius: *quae res postea religioni fuit, quia eo lustro Roma est capta; nec deinde umquam in demortui locum censor sufficitur.*

Page 30. **2. se auctorem**: i.e. *his example* in the matter.

4. quod, quod: *the fact that.*

7. pro: *out of regard for.*

8. non modo: for this before *ne . . . quidem*, see note to page 21, line 6. **violatum**: with *te*, line 6.

10. egi: *I have said.* For this meaning see note to page 8, line 9.

13, 14. nisi . . . differantur: *if two men do not gain the votes required by law, the election of one is not announced but the elections are postponed.* "A majority of the centuries must cast their votes for both members of the college at the same meeting to make an election valid." Abbott, R. P. I. §206.

18. summa invidia: ablative of attendant circumstance. B. 221. In a later notice, Livy (IX, 46) speaks of Appius as "the first who polluted the Senate by selecting the sons of freedmen," and says that he also corrupted the *comitia tributa* and the *comitia centuriata* by distributing men of humble birth among the tribes. These look like the acts of a democratic leader and we may suspect that Appius had a considerable following in the city.

Prodigies reported during Hannibal's First Winter in Italy

Prodigies of all kinds were regarded as indications of the gods' displeasure at something done by human beings, but the state was not concerned with those that happened *in loco peregrino* and *in privato loco* (Livy XLIII, 13). The interpretation of these prodigies (involving the questions: What god sent them? What is the cause of his displeasure? How can he be propitiated?) was so important for the community that it was intrusted to a body of experts, the College of

Pontiffs. They kept a record of well attested prodigies that had been interpreted and this served as a body of precedents. The passage here given is doubtlessly based on these records. (Cf. note to page 20, line 22.)

Page 30. **20. ea hieme**: of B.C. 218–217. Hannibal had already defeated the Romans on the Ticinus and the Trebia, and the time was one of great tribulation when people turn to the supernatural.

21. in religionem: cf. note to page 24, lines 5, 6.

22. quis: ablative. A. 150, c. B. 89, footnote 2. Cf. *qui* = *quo*, page 5, line 3.

23. foro olitorio: at the foot of the Capitoline, but outside the *porta Carmentalis*. **triumphum clamasse**: *had shouted* "*Io triumphe*," an old expression used at processions, e.g. by the soldiers and the multitude at triumphs. *Io* = *Hurrah*.

24. foro boario: south of the *forum olitorium*, between the Tiber and the Palatine, not far from the *Circus Maximus*.

28. Lanuvi: locative. Rome and Lanuvium had common *sacra*, so that this omen applied to Rome also. The places mentioned later, Amiternum, Picenum, and Caere, must have had Roman citizenship or there must have been *ager publicus populi Romani* there, else their prodigies would have been no special concern of Rome. **hastam**: i.e. *Iunonis*. This is a survival of a very early usage when there were no images and lances were the symbols of gods.

Page 31. **1. visos, congressos** (*esse*): the subject is purposely left out, as the beings were of unknown character. **lapidibus**: ablative of means. This kind of prodigy is frequently mentioned by Livy.

2. Caere: locative. **sortes**: tablets of oak (later, of bronze) on which letters were inscribed, a means of divination among the Italians. The portent was the shrinking of these. **Gallia**: sc. *Cisalpina*, occupied by the Romans shortly before the war with Hannibal.

4. libros: sc. *Sibyllinos;* they were of Greek origin, and were consulted when the ordinary means of divination failed and when there was great public danger. A college, the *decemviri sacrorum* or *decemviri sacris faciundis*, were custodians and interpreters of these books, and consulted them, when ordered. Cf. note to page 86, line 24.

5. subinde: *one after the other*.

6. procurandis: for translation see note to page 24, line 5.

7. lustrata: partly explained by the subsequent phrases. It involved also a solemn procession through the city. Cf. the *lustrum* of the censors, note to page 29, line 29. **hostiae maiores**: full-grown animals, in contrast with *lactantes*, sucklings. The pontiffs decided which should be used.

7, 8. quibus editum est diis: *to the gods to whom it was ordained* (that they should be offered).

8. ex auri pondo quadraginta (sc. *libris*): *of forty pounds in gold* (about $8,500). *pondo*, an ablatival form from *pondus*, specifying weight, is treated as an indeclinable noun.

10. lectisternium: a sumptuous banquet for the gods, whose images or symbols were placed on couches spread (*lectus*, *sternere*) with coverlets and pillows.

11. supplicatio: a religious ceremony including litanies at the different shrines.

12, 13. Iuventati: one of the original Roman gods (*di indigetes*), afterward identified with the Greek goddess Hebe, wife of Hercules; her temple was in the precincts of the Capitol.

13. aedem Herculis: outside the *porta Trigemina*, but how far is not known. **nominatim**: i.e. the *aedes Herculis* was the only temple mentioned *by name* in the order for the *supplicatio*, which otherwise was general.

14. Genio: sc. *populi Romani*; the presiding Genius or guardian spirit of the nation, like that of each individual.

16. praetor: the consuls were in the field or they would have been ordered to do this. **vota suscipere**: i.e. to vow shrines, sacrifices or other gifts on behalf of the state. **in**: *for*.

Hannibal at the Gates of Rome

In B.C. 211, the eighth year that Hannibal was in Italy, he brought his army from Tarentum up to the outskirts of Rome, intending to create a diversion of the Romans from the siege of Capua, a city that had revolted to him and was then being hard pressed by a Roman army. Needless to say there was *tumultus* in Rome at the approach of Hannibal.

Page 31. **19. Fulvius Flaccus**: Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, consul the preceding year, at that time acting *pro consule*, i.e. with consular powers. He was detached from the army at Capua and sent to

protect Rome against Hannibal. **porta Capena**: ablative of the way by which; and so *media urbe* in the next line.

20. Carinas Esquilias: *Carinae* (The Keels) was properly the peak of the Esquiline on the side toward the Coelian hill; then the quarter of the city between these hills (where now stands *S. Pietro in Vincoli*).

21. contendit: sc. *iter*. **inter Esquilinam Collinamque portam**: so at a place where Hannibal would naturally make the expected attack.

22. aediles plebis: note to page 23, lines 15, 16.

26. praetorem urbanum: the duties of the praetorship became so onerous that in B.C. 242 a second praetor was elected. Thereafter the *praetor urbanus* took charge of the suits of citizens only, while the *praetor peregrinus* had those in which one or both of the parties were foreigners. Abbott, R.P.I. § 200. In this time of stress, the praetor became a military official. Cf. note to page 23, line 15.

27. frequentem: *in a body*.

28. consulto: the ablative of the perfect passive participle with *opus est* is not frequent in classical prose. B. 218, 2, c.

Page 32. **1. ad Herculis templum**: the location of this temple is not known, but it was probably not far from the Colline gate.

2. unde proxime poterat (*contemplari*): *at a place from which he could gain the closest view*. When the antecedent of *unde* is indefinite, it is usually omitted.

6, 7. Numidarum: Hannibal had in his army a considerable number of Numidians, who made excellent fighters on horseback.

9. convalles: the depressions between the low hills near the city. **tecta hortorum**: structures of any kind in gardens. **sepulcra**: Roman dead were buried outside the city, and there were numerous sepulchral monuments along the great public roads, especially the *via Appia*. **cavas undique vias**: *sunken passage-ways that existed everywhere* (among the gardens and terraced vineyards).

11. clivo Publicio: this Way led down the Aventine, near the *porta Trigemina*, to the *forum boarium*.

14, 15. effusura fuerit: note to page 1, line 9. **tunc**: *then however*, but, as a matter of fact.

19. secundum: *favorable*, to the Romans.

22, 23. cum imperio esse: *should have the imperium*, high official authority; note to page 3, line 10.

23, 24. diei quod reliquum fuit: the antecedent to be understood with *quod* is *eo*, which would be parallel to *nocte insequenti*. (*eo quod diei reliquum fuit et nocte.*)

28, 29. in eius pugnae casum: *for the occasion of this battle*, practically equivalent to *in eam pugnam*. **esset**: *was to be* (they knew); implied indirect discourse. A. 580, a. B. 328.

31, 32. nullius rei . . . metu: *through fear of anything rather than the enemy.*

Page 33. **1. eadem**: so we often use 'same' for 'similar' or 'of the same kind.'

3. religionem: note to page 24, lines 5, 6.

4, 5. modo, modo: *now, now.*

8. in supplementum Hispaniae (dative): Hannibal had left a garrison in Carthaginian Spain when he set out for Rome, and the Romans after the outbreak of hostilities sent a force there. The recruits mentioned were reënforcements for this Roman army in Spain.

10. venisse: from *veneo*. **nihil**: adverbial, *not a whit*. **ob id**: i.e. *quod Hannibal ibi castra habebat*, easily understood from the preceding.

12. soli: from the noun *solum*.

14. tabernas argentarias: *bankers' stalls* or booths.

15. Tutiam fluvium: this stream cannot now be identified with certainty, though it was probably a small tributary of the Anio.

17. templum: in loose apposition with *lucum*.

19. pro copia: *according to their abundance.*

21. rudera: apparently this means *uncoined pieces* of bronze (cf. *aes rude*, the earliest amorphous metal currency). The Romans had had coinage for a considerable time before this (note to page 14, line 10) and this uncoined metal in the temple was probably some of the ancient sacred treasure. Livy represents the soldiers as having an 'attack of conscience' (*religione*) after their plundering, and as leaving behind them the metal that would be of least use to them — which is not without its humor.

24. Coelius: also spelled *Caelius;* Lucius Coelius Antipater, an historian of the latter half of the second century B.C. He was dissatisfied with previous accounts of the war with Hannibal (Second Punic War), which were composed from the Roman point of view, and so consulted the history of Silenus, Hannibal's Greek historiographer.

31. tantum id interest: *only this is the point at issue.*

The Capture of New Carthage

In the Spring of the year B.C. 210, Publius Scipio, who was in command of the Roman forces stationed north of the Hiberus (Ebro) River in Spain, set out on a rapid march southward to capture New Carthage before any of the three Carthaginian armies could come to its assistance. Our accounts of the operations in Spain are so confused that it is almost impossible to gain a satisfactory view of the war. (Cf. Mommsen II, pages 327–329.)

Page 34. **1. Hac oratione**: of Scipio to his troops.

2. regionis eius: the territory north of the Hiberus, occupied by tribes friendly to the Romans. — Marcus Silanus, propraetor, had come to Spain with Scipio, who was only 27 years old, to assist and advise him.

3, 5. copias Hiberum traiecit: notice the two accusatives. A. 239, 2, b. B. 179, 1.

6. Of the three Carthaginian armies in Spain, one under Hasdrubal Barca was stationed on the upper waters of the Tagus, the second under Hasdrubal, son of Gisgo, was at the mouth of the Tagus, the third under Mago was near the Pillars of Hercules (Gibraltar) — none of them less than 10 days' march from New Carthage. (Polybius X, 7.)

7. adgrederetur: *should attack.*

7, 8. in unum: *together.*

13. super: *on.*

14. nescio an unum: *the only one, I believe.* (*nescio an* and *haud scio an*, literally "I don't know whether," gained a positive significance: "I am inclined to think.")

15. quo iretur: *where they were going.* Notice the indefinite passive and cf. *ventum est*, line 19. B. 146, d. — Caius Laelius was a young friend of Scipio, who came with him as admiral of the fleet.

18. Septimo die: Polybius has the same; but he says (III, 39, 6) that the distance from the Hiberus to New Carthage is 2,600 stades (probably about right for the march, though it is some 25 miles less as the crow flies) and this would mean roughly 43 miles per day for 7 days, which seems inconceivable.

20. ab regione urbis qua: *opposite the part of the city where*, etc., the whole expression through *versa est* meaning *on the north side of the city.* — Notice that the Romans gave direction as if looking from

a point noted toward themselves; hence *ab* (passim) and *unde* (page 35, line 3) and *ex* (page 35, line 31). Cf. French: *de ce côté, de l'autre côté.*

23. Africo vento: from the southwest, and stormy.

25. plus . . . ducentos passus: for *plus* with numerals cf. note to page 22, line 21.

26. obiecta ab alto: *thrown up*, or *rising from the deep.*

30. claudit: the subject of course is *paeninsula.*

Page 35. **1. incertae**: *varying.* **utcumque**: *according as.*

2. Continenti: this participle is often used substantively without *terra*, = *the mainland, continent.* **iugum**: *a ridge.*

3. Unde: *on this side;* cf. note to page 34, line 20.

5. fiduciam: *self-confidence.*

8, 9. circumvectus classem: *having sailed around* (through) *the fleet.*

11. hostem conari: indirect discourse implied in *monuisset;* we would insert 'saying that' or 'remarking that' before the phrase.

12. potissimum: *rather than anything else;* cf. note to page 6, line 12.

16. rationem exactam: *a correct account* or *measure.*

19. simul: often used alone as a temporal conjunction in the sense of *simul ac, as soon as.*

21. in dicionem: sc. *populi Romani.*

22. quippe qui: *since they;* relative clause of cause. A. 320, e, Note 1. B. 283, 3, a.

24. tormenta: *military engines*, catapults and ballistae.

28. suppeditentur: relative clause of characteristic (coördinate with *pulcherrima, opportunissima*) with the potential idea very strong. Cf. A. 534.

29, 30. magna, multo maiora: predicate use of adjectives; with *Quae* (*these things*); equivalent to relative clauses expressing additional facts: *which are important to us, which are more important to them;* or to parenthetic phrases: *and they are important to us, and they are more important to them.* **dempserimus**: Latin is more exact in using the future perfect than English; we usually avoid it and are content with either the future or the perfect, according as we wish to stress the futurity or the completion of the act. But cf. Roby 1485.

33. Africa: i.e. Carthage.

Page 36. 1. **videret**: the subject is *Mago*, commander of the Carthaginian garrison in the city. The end of Scipio's speech and some notice of the military preparations in the town have been lost from Livy's account; an isolated word, *armaverat*, remains, but it has been omitted from this text as being useless for the translation. **et**: *also;* the expression is compressed for 'he also arranged his forces and did it thus.' *et* is frequently not a conjunction, but an adverb, and is then to be translated by 'also' or 'even'; cf. Caesar's exclamation when Brutus stabbed him: *Et tu, Brute.* Roby 2198.

6. **vocasset**: representing the future perfect indicative of the direct discourse; note to page 4, line 12.

12. **effusis**: *while they were scattered*, or *scattered as they were.* Cf. note to page 8, line 24.

13. **receptui**: dative of purpose (in certain military expressions, commonly used without another dative). A. 233, b. B. 191, 1. **cecinisset**: the subject is indefinite; we would say 'the bugle.' Cf. page 37, line 11.

14. **viderentur**: it is often more convenient to translate this verb by a parenthetic 'it seems,' 'it seemed,' or 'I think,' and to make the dependent infinitive the main verb in English; so here, *they would have broken in, it seems.* For past contrary to fact conditional sentences in indirect discourse see A. 337, 2, b. B. 321.

16, 17. **qua cuique erat proximum**: *by what(-ever way) it was nearest for each one;* we would say, *each jumped down the nearest way.*

19. **moenia esse**: explanatory of *Quod*, line 17.

23. **in rem**: *appropriate.* **quodque**: *and, a fact which*, referring to the following *testis . . . adest.*

23, 24. **plurumum intererat**: *was most important.* Notice the change of tense; this is permissible because the presents are historical. A. 276, 2; 287, c. B. 259, 3.

27. **quin certatim ascendant**: *from vying with one another in climbing.* For the *quin* clause A. 332, g. B. 295, 3.

29, 30. **Ceterum . . . poterat**: *But the confusion which resulted from this* (*inde*) *was greater than the pressure which could be brought to bear* on the enemy.

30. **adplicant**: sc. *naves ad litus*, though the verb is used absolutely with the meaning 'to land.'

Page 37. 1. **vis**: *quantity* (of weapons).

2. **suppeditabat**: intransitive, *sufficed*, i.e. to arm everybody including the townsmen mentioned on page 36, line 2 ff.

4. sese: this is a little obscure, as it applies to *moenia*, but not to *viri*, *tela* or *quicquam aliud*. Nothing contributed to the defence of the walls so much as the height of the walls themselves.

5. quo altiores, eo infirmiores: by how much higher, by so much weaker; *the higher, the weaker*. For the ablatives A. 250. B. 223.

6. evadere: *get up*, i.e. climb up off the ladder on to the wall.

8. cum altitudo . . . offudisset: *becoming dizzy on account of the height.*

11, 13. spem dedit: has two dependent constructions, (1) *praesentis quietis*, (2) the infinitive clauses *scalis . . . suis*, explaining *in posterum*. Care should be taken in translating the infinitives in their proper tenses, for *posse* and *esse* (unexpectedly after *in posterum*) represent general statements applicable to the present, while *datura* refers to the future alone. It is therefore best to translate *in posterum*, *regarding the future.*

13. corona: *by storm;* literally, the circle of besiegers.

19. Tarraconenses: Tarraco was to Rome what New Carthage was to Carthage (Mommsen II, page 321); it contained fortifications and a harbor, and was the Roman base of operations in Spain.

20. cumbis: *skiffs;* often spelled *cymba.*

21. conpertum habebat: *habere* is sometimes used with the perfect passive participle of a verb, with a force but little stronger than the perfect or pluperfect of that verb, i.e. like a modern auxiliary or tense sign; so here the expression practically = *conperat.* Cf. *exornatum habebant*, page 33, line 20. A. 292, d. B. 337, 7.

23. ad id quod: *in addition to the fact that.*

24, 25. inclinatum . . . ferebat: *was carrying the sluggish water* (*stagnum*) *already moving* (*inclinatum*, i.e. by the tide) *in the same direction as the tide.*

27, 28. in prodigium ac deos vertens: *considering it a portent and referring it to the gods.*

Page 38. **1, 2. ad ancipites utrimque ictus**: *to blows from both sides;* Livy must be thinking of an attack made in an angle where a portion of the city wall jutted out perpendicularly from the rest; the *turres* would probably project somewhat and afford opportunities for assaulting the flanks of the storming parties. But such expressions left unexplained by the author are bad composition and worse history.

2, 3. infestiora: in passive sense; *more vulnerable.* **adversa corpora**: *the front of their bodies.*

6. ut ubi: *because there*, a construction parallel to *quippe qui*, page 35, line 22. Roby 1714. **praesidio creditum foret**: for the passive of intransitive verbs with the dative see A. 230. B. 187, II, b. Translate: *because there the protection of (from) the ground itself* (i.e. the configuration of the earth) *and the stagnant water had been considered sufficient.*

10. quanto maximo cursu poterant: *running as fast as they could.*

13. pugnantis: accusative plural, object of *adhortantium.*

14, 15. in aversos: i.e. *on their backs.*

21. iusta: *regular*, explained by *cum ducibus, cum ordinibus.*

23. videret: sc. *Scipio.*

25. Mago: commander of the Carthaginian garrison in the city.

26, 27. partim, partim: = *partem.*

32. ulli parcebatur: like *praesidio creditum foret*, above line 6.

Page 39. **3. virile secus**: an adverbial phrase, *of the male sex.* A. 240, b. B. 185, 1. **ad**: *about;* used adverbially, modifying *decem.*

5. sua omnia: *all their possessions, sua* referring back to *cives.* **reliqua fecerat**: = *reliquerat*, a construction parallel to *compertum habebat*, note to page 37, line 21.

6. opifices: *workmen* in any kind of a trade, free yet belonging to a politically low order in the state. These were to be made slaves of the Roman people (*publicos*) instead of being sold into private bondage, as happened to the people of many captured towns.

14, 15. catapultae, ballistae: the ballista was used to throw stones and other heavy missiles, while the catapult was for arrows. In both the motive power was the untwisting of thongs, ropes, or hair that were twisted (*torquere;* cf. *tormenta*, page 35, line 24) by means of little windlasses. For illustrations see Dict. of Antiquities.

19, 20. librae ferme omnes pondo: *nearly all of them weighing a pound.* For the construction see note to page 31, line 8.

26. sparto: a plant of the broom genus, of which ropes, mats, etc. were made.

Hasdrubal in Italy and Battle of the Metaurus

Page 39. **29. De Hasdrubalis adventu**: Hasdrubal, Hannibal's brother, held the command of the Punic forces in Spain from 218 B.C. when Hannibal departed to invade Italy. After his defeat by Scipio

at the battle of Baecula in 209 B.C., either in the same year or in 208 B.C., he crossed the Pyrenees near their western end and, after spending the intervening months in southern Gaul, descended from the Alps into Italy in the spring of 207 B.C.

30. Massiliensium: Massilia, on the south coast of Gaul, the modern Marseilles, founded about 600 B.C. by Phocaean Greeks, had long been a faithful ally of Rome.

Page 40. **1. erectos**: agrees with *animos*, line 3.

5. rettulerant: *had reported, had brought back word.* **misisse se**: *se* is the subject of *misisse;* the object is the indefinite antecedent of the relative *qui; qui . . . referrent* is a clause of purpose.

8. proximo vere: i.e. in 207 B.C.; we are therefore still dealing with the year 208 B.C.

11. Consulatum ineunt: the date of entering on the consulship after 222 B.C. and until 153 B.C. was March 15th. **M. Livius** (*Salinator*): he had been consul in 219 B.C. with M. Aemilius Paulus and had been tried and found guilty of unfairly dividing among the soldiers the booty taken in the Illyrian war. He took the disgrace deeply to heart and for several years lived in retirement.

12. iam designati: *while still only consuls elect*, before their inauguration.

13. praetores: notice that there were four annual praetors at this period. (Cf. note to page 31, line 24.) **iurisdictio urbana**: that is, in civil suits between Roman citizens.

14. peregrina: sc. *iurisdictio;* that is, in suits in which one or both of the parties were foreigners, *peregrini*. This was ordinarily the department (*provincia*) of a second praetor.

16. Gallia: sc. *Cisalpina*. **Summa**: a noun.

21. scriberentur: *should be enrolled* or *enlisted*.

22. tribunos: sc. *militum;* six for each legion. The arrangement here referred to was normal. The election was in the *comitia tributa*. Abbott # 249.

27. quos . . . fore deos: a dependent question, rhetorical in character. Note to page 5, lines 3, 4. A. 586. B. 315, 2.

30. rem extractam esse: *they had managed to hold out.*

31. praecipitasset: *had gone to ruin.*

Page 41. **1. duobus . . . ducibus**: P. and Cn. Scipio, defeated and killed in battle in Spain in 212 B.C.

2. multa secunda: e.g. the capture of Syracuse in 212 B.C. and the recapture of Capua in 211 B.C.

8. Qui eorum: indefinite relative: *whichever one of them*, i.e. Hannibal or Hasdrubal.

10. duorum consulum funeribus: Marcellus was killed in a skirmish near Venusia; his colleague, Crispinus, at the same time received the wound from which he afterward died.

13. plenum adhuc irae: see note to page 40, line 11.

14. genus: *character, nature.*

20. a Placentiae obsidione: Hasdrubal had apparently wasted a good deal of valuable time in this unsuccessful siege.

25. Q. Claudium: he was praetor in 208 B.C., and may have been the same Claudius who, as plebeian tribune in 218, proposed and carried the law forbidding any senator or senator's son to own a ship of more than 300 *amphorae*, equivalent to about 7½ tons; cf. Livy XXI, 63.

26. inplicantes: *perplexing*, nominative agreeing with the subject of *edocuerunt*, line 28.

30. Claudium: sc. *Neronem;* he was encamped, keeping a close watch upon Hannibal, near Venusia or Canusium in Apulia.

31. Qui: Verginius, the two Numidians and their escort.

Page 42. **12. Narniam**: formerly Nequinum on the river Nar in Umbria. Cf. Macaulay, Horatius XXXVII:

> From that grey crag, where girt with towers,
> The fortress of Nequinum lowers
> O'er the pale waves of Nar.

It was an important strategic point on the Via Flaminia.

24. Tessera: a small wooden tablet. The watchword was inscribed on such tablets and passed to the soldiers on guard. Similarly the orders of a commander were written on tablets and passed to his subordinates.

28. tendentium: *camping.* Our word 'tent' means something 'stretched.'

Page 43. **1. quorum**: indefinite, *of any.*

2. conscripserat: the subject is evidently the consul Nero. **Senam**: this is Sena Gallica on the Adriatic, founded as a Roman colony in 283 B.C., as a naval station and a fortress to keep the Senonian Gauls in check.

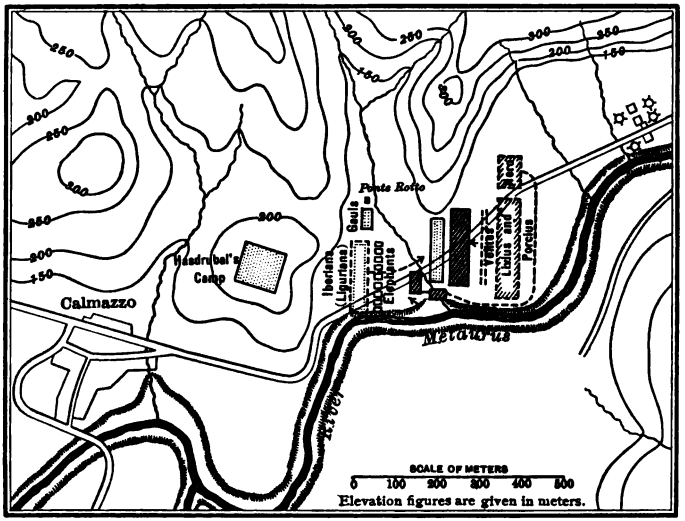
6. sui quisque ordinis: *of each one's own rank.*

8. L. Porcius Licinus: cf. page 40, line 15.

22. moveat: sc. *Hannibal.*

25. coniungatur: middle voice; cf. note to page 22, lines 10, 11.

26. abutendum: *they must take (the fullest) advantage of.*



PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF THE METAURUS

Page 44. **1. scuta vetera**: i.e. those of Nero's men. The distance must have been very short to enable a man to see details such as are here mentioned.

5. adustioris: *more sunburned.*

8. attendant: *they should take pains to notice.*

12. Illud: *The following point.*

19. profecto: adverb (*pro facto*, for a fact), *certainly.*

20. ausum: sc. *Hannibalem.* **vereri**: sc. *Hasdrubalem.*

27. duces: *guides.*

29. Metaurum: the mouth of the Metaurus was about a dozen miles northwest of Sena. Hasdrubal's intention apparently was to advance up this river by the Via Flaminia, which led over the Apen-

nines, in order to seize and hold a commanding position in the mountains or to march into Umbria toward Rome.

31. somno: *in their drowsy condition.* **infrequentia**: *with small numbers*, because so many left them.

Page 45. **2. iter errore revolvens**: *losing his way and marching to and fro.*

10. in tumulo: the point where the Via Flaminia crossed the river by a bridge — near which Lehmann supposes the battle to have occurred — is about 18 miles in a straight line from the mouth of the river.

14. derectaque acies: the plan on the preceding page will show how the armies may have been arranged.

18. circa: *near.*

22. Ligures: warlike, long unsubdued and uncivilized; like many similar populations, they were accustomed to fight as mercenaries. Livy (XXVII, 39) speaks of a letter from Porcius saying that Hasdrubal was then crossing into Italy and *octo millia Ligurum conscripta armataque coniunctura se transgresso in Italiam esse.*

23. longior quam latior: *rather deep than wide.*

26. cessabat: *was not in action.*

Page 46. **2. inpotentius iam regi**: *could no longer be controlled.*

3. quorum essent: *to whom they belonged.*

4. vagis: *drifting.*

7. ea regione: *in that direction.*

9. post aciem: across in the rear of the Roman army from the right wing to the left.

22. habebant: sc. *rectores.* **id**: sc. *scalprum.*

27. alias: adverb.

Page 47. **4. Numquam . . . tantum hostium interfectum**: this statement and the numbers which follow are doubtless exaggerated. It was comforting to Roman pride to regard this victory as the equivalent of their immense defeat at Cannae nine years earlier.

20. castra: this means his camp in the south of Italy, close to Hannibal.

The Meeting of Scipio, Syphax, and Hasdrubal

No notes are given for this passage, as it is intended for sight translation.

Introduction of the Worship of the "Magna Mater"

Page 50. **19. mater Idaea**: called also *Magna Mater* and *Mater Dea*, *Cybele* and *Rhea;* perhaps originally worshipped on Mt. Ida near Troy. **Pessinunte**: Pessinus in Phrygia or Galatia was a famous seat of the cult of the *Magna Mater.*

20. decemviris: sc. *sacris faciundis*, the keepers of the Sibylline books. Cf. note to page 31, line 4.

21. legati, etc.: cf. Livy XXVIII, 45, 12: *legati Delphos ad donum ex praeda Hasdrubalis portandum missi M. Pomponius Matho ac Q. Catius.* These ambassadors had been sent earlier in the same year, B.C. 205.

23. maiorem multo victoriam: supposed to be a prophetic reference to the battle of Zama, B.C. 202, in which Scipio defeated Hannibal.

24. cuius ex spoliis: cf. *ex praeda Hasdrubalis* (above, note to line 21), the victory of Scipio in Spain in B.C. 206, which made the Roman conquest of Spain from the Carthaginians virtually complete. — For the omission of the antecedent of the relative cf. note to page 7, lines 8, 9.

29. cogitare, agitare: historical infinitives. **quae ratio . . . esset**: the following method was adopted: five Roman envoys were sent in five quinqueremes to convey the goddess to Rome. The Delphic oracle advised them to ask help of Attalus, king of Pergamus, in securing the sacred stone at Pessinus, and to see that it was received at Rome by the 'best man in the city.' After securing the sacred stone, they sent one of their number to Rome to announce its arrival and provide for its proper reception.

Page 51. **1. provincia decreta erat**: the distribution of 'provinces' or spheres of duty assigned to officials was usually settled by the Senate, either by agreement or by lot.

6. prodigia: the list of prodigies which follows may be considered as an extract from the *Annales Maximi* similar to the longer one on pages 30, 31.

9. de caelo tactum : i.e. struck by lightning.

16. Tarracinae : on the coast of Latium, about 60 miles southeast of Rome.

20. P. Scipionem Cn. f(ilium) : this is the first cousin of *Publius Scipio P. f.*, the consul of B.C. 205. The elder Publius was consul in B.C. 218 and Gnaeus, his brother, was his *legatus*. They were the two brothers killed in Spain in B.C. 212 ; note to page 41, line 1.

23. sicut . . . ita (line 25) : *though . . . yet.*

26. P. Cornelius : sc. *Scipio*. The practice of giving the same man's name in different forms, while it satisfies the author's taste for variety, tends to confusion in the mind of a modern reader. But the Greek practice of speaking of a Roman merely by his *praenomen* is much more perplexing.

30. nave : no doubt a much smaller vessel than the quinquereme which had come from Asia.

32. accepere : sc. *deam*. **cui** : dative of reference; the antecedent is of course *Claudiae*.

Page 52. **2. per manus** : *in their hands;* connect with *pertulere* (line 6).

4. qua : *along the road by which.*

5, 6. aedem Victoriae : built in B.C. 294. The exact location on the Palatine is not known. The pointed black stone, which represented the Magna Mater, was kept here from B.C. 204 to 191 while the temple of the Magna Mater was being built. Cf. Platner's Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome (1st ed.), p. 135 ff.

8. lectisternium : see note to page 31, line 10. **Megalensia** : sc. *festa;* from Megale (Mater), Μεγάλη (Μήτηρ) ; April 4th, annually celebrated with processions and games. Four of the six comedies of Terence were first performed at the Megalensia.

Hannibal, fearing that his countrymen will deliver him to the Romans, flees to Antiochus, King of Syria

The letter referred to in line 10 was one from Q. Minucius Thermus, praetor of Hither Spain in B.C. 196, announcing a victory at Turda in his province. Cato had been elected consul for the coming year, B.C. 195. He spent the year conducting wars in Spain with marked success. The Second Macedonian War had been brought to a

close by the victory of Cynoscephalae in B.C. 197 and the war against Antiochus III of Syria, which was to begin in B.C. 192, was already anticipated with some dread.

Page 52. **12. decem legatorum**: these may have been the commissioners sent to regulate affairs in Greece and Macedonia after the battle of Cynoscephalae. Ten was the favorite number in cases where the Romans organized a province after conquering a country.

14. legibus: *conditions.* **non minorem belli molem**: *no less formidable a war;* the Romans had a rather exaggerated notion of the strength of the showy kingdom of Syria.

17. Aegypti: at this time ruled by Ptolemy V Epiphanes (205–181), who was about 14 years old in B.C. 196. The dynasty of the Ptolemies degenerated after the time of the first three kings of their line.

18. Aetolos: the Aetolian League had been allied with Rome in the war against Philip of Macedon, but now felt that its help had not been duly recognized and rewarded. Therefore the Aetolians invited Antiochus to Greece and joined him in his war against Rome, which is accordingly called the Syro-Aetolian War (B.C. 192–189).

21. Nabim: Nabis, military tyrant of Sparta (B.C. 207–192), was a thorough ruffian and the inveterate foe of the Achaean League, which was the most highly organized political body in Greece and included the greater part of the Peloponnese.

23. Argos: neuter accusative singular. Nabis got possession of Argos from Philip in B.C. 198 and his garrison was not expelled till 195. He cruelly maltreated the city.

25, 26. liberatam . . . Graeciam: freedom was proclaimed by Flamininus at the Isthmian games in Corinth B.C. 196 to many Greek states which had been subject to Philip.

29. maior res . . . maturanda magis: i.e. their relations to Antiochus were, it is true, more important, but a decision in regard to Nabis was more pressing.

Page 53. **4. T. Quinctio** (*Flaminino*): the conqueror of Philip and a sort of plenipotentiary at large for the affairs of Greece.

5. e re publica: *in accordance with* (*for*) *the best interests of the state.*

16. situ: the metaphorical use of 'rust,' 'rusty,' is the same as in English. **queri**: sc. *Hannibalem.*

20. Iudicum: a board of 104, a sort of executive committee of the

Carthaginian senate, and the real governing body as well as the judicial body. *ordo* is used in the same sense as in the terms *ordo senatorius*, *ordo equester*.

25. inpotenti: *unrestrained.* **civiliter**: *constitutionally;* we may so translate though this word is an anachronism.

26. praetor, quaestorem: Roman terms; inexact, but giving an approximate notion of the offices designated. Roman literary style avoided the use of foreign words far more than modern practice.

29. referebatur: the imperfect embodies the idea that not merely this particular quaestor, but quaestors in general passed into the ranks of the Hundred Judges. **animos**: *pride.*

Page 54. **8. bono publico**: *for the welfare of the people*, dative of purpose.

9. Vectigalia: *revenues.*

12. stipendium: war indemnity, which was to be paid in fifty annual instalments after the Second Punic War. **tributum**: tax on individuals; what was a *stipendium* as paid to Rome, was a *tributum* as levied on the citizens of Carthage.

15. erogarentur: *were spent.*

20. paverat: from *pasco.*

25. subscribere: *to approve;* the word is used especially of those persons who supported a prosecutor in a criminal proceeding by signing their names at the foot of the accusation.

28. nomen deferrent: report his name, i.e. *lodge an accusation against him.*

31, 32. Cn. Servilius: perhaps the consul of B.C. 203, Cn. Servilius Caepio. **M. Claudius Marcellus**: probably the consul of B.C. 196. He was the son of the conqueror of Syracuse, who had fallen in battle with Hannibal. **Q. Terentius Culleo**: having been taken prisoner in the Second Punic War and liberated at its close, he walked in Scipio's triumph wearing the *pilleus* or cap of liberty like an emancipated slave, and did the same in Scipio's funeral procession afterward. Yet it was he who, as praetor in B.C. 187, conducted the trial of the Scipios, which resulted in the condemnation of L. Scipio, brother of Africanus.

Page 55. **3. Masinissa**: the crafty king had been of great use to the Romans in the Second Punic War, and they maintained him for a half century to spy and prey upon Carthage.

10. vestitu forensi: a formal, or even official, costume which did not suggest the idea that he was about to travel.

12. Byzacium: a province between the river Triton and the Lesser Syrtis.

13. agri: *of the* (*Carthaginian*) *territory.*

14. Acyllam: about 30 miles south of Thapsus. **Thapsum**: about 25 miles southeast of Hadrumetum and 100, in a direct line, from Carthage.

15. remigio: = *remigibus;* abstract for concrete, as often in Livy.

17. Cercinam: this island lies off the coast southeast of Acylla.

21. qua: nominative, agreeing with *navis.*

31. ad id quod: *besides the fact that.*

Page 56. **7. aliorum . . . foventium**: genitive of quality, coördinate with the adjective *discordi* in the ablative, both being modifiers of *civitate.*

8. visum: sc. *esse.*

10. ante: i.e. in the Second Punic War when Philip was induced to become the ally of Carthage.

20. Tyrum: Carthage was a colony of Tyre, founded about B.C. 800.

22. Antiochiam: Antioch was the capital of the Syrian kingdom.

24. ad Daphnen: a grove near Antioch; the suburb in which it lay was called Epidaphne.

28. ad animum eius moliendum: *in enabling him to make up his mind;* the word *moliendum* indicates the difficulty of the operation.

30. Pharsalum et Leucadem: after the victory over Philip, the Aetolians demanded the restoration of all former members to their league. Pharsalus was in Thessaly. Leucas was a town on an island of the same name, close to the coast of Acarnania.

32. T. Quinctium: see note to page 53, line 4.

Scipio and Hannibal at the Court of Antiochus

The Romans sent an embassy in B.C. 193 to Eumenes of Pergamus and Antiochus of Syria, who was then in Asia Minor.

Page 57. **1. Claudius**: sc. *Quadrigarius*, a Roman annalist; he translated the Greek annals of C. Acilius into Latin. Cf. Livy XXV, 39, 12: *Claudius qui annales Acilianos ex Graeco in Latinum sermonem vertit;* and Periocha 53: *C. Acilius senator Graece res Romanas scribit.*

3. sermonem unum: i.e. they talked together at various times, but only one of their conversations is reported.

9. castra metari: and yet we are told by Plutarch that Pyrrhus (B.C. 280–272) greatly admired the arrangement of a Roman camp (Plutarch, Pyrrhus 16).

10. elegantius: *more cleverly.*

13. Exsequenti: *asking further.*

15. subiecisse: sc. *Scipionem.*

18. esse: sc. *dixissem* or *dicerem.* **perplexum**: *involved, obscure.*

19. movisse: *touched.*

Character and Censorship of Cato Major

M. Porcius Cato and L. Valerius Flaccus were censors in B.C. 184 in the consulship of P. Claudius Pulcher and L. Porcius Licinus.

Page 57. **21. His comitiis sublatis**: *This election being dispensed with, done away.* A vacancy had occurred by the death of a praetor, C. Decimius. There was so much strife in regard to the election of a praetor to take his place that it was finally decided to go on with one fewer than usual, three instead of four, and to give double duty to the praetor in the city; that is, he assumed the 'peregrine' in addition to the 'urban' jurisdiction. **alia**: sc. *comitia.*

22. quo: *inasmuch as.*

26, 27. Ti. et M. . . . Tuditanus: i.e. Tiberius Sempronius Longus, and Marcus Sempronius Tuditanus.

Page 58. **5, 6. alios . . . alios . . . alios**: *some . . . others . . . others;* partitive apposition to *summos honores.*

10. summus imperator: referring especially to his able conduct of wars in Spain when he was consul in B.C. 195.

12, 13. cuius . . . viguerit . . . exstet: clauses of characteristic or result.

14. sacrata: *preserved.* **scriptis**: 150 of Cato's speeches were extant in Cicero's time, of which only some fragments remain. The loss of his great historical work, *Origines*, in 7 books, is a serious one. He wrote treatises agricultural, sanitary, military, and legal. The only one preserved in substantial integrity is his *De Re Rustica* or *De Agri Cultura*, a most interesting guide to practical farming.

21. innocentiae: *integrity.*

25, 26. Ser. Galbam: the infamous propraetor of further Spain

who was tried in B.C. 149 for his treachery and cruelty to the Lusitanians in the preceding year.

27. tum prensantem: *When he was canvassing at this time*, i.e. for the censorship.

31. tristem: *stern, severe.*

Page 59. **2. refragari sibi qui**: *that he was opposed by those who.*

3. L. Valerio: sc. *Flacco.*

4. castigare . . . mores: this line expresses briefly the whole aim of Cato's public life.

8. Secundum: *immediately after* (note to page 6, line 20). One of the consuls had to preside at the election. Censors were elected in the *comitia centuriata.*

10. quaestiones: *trials.* This was long before the organization of the regular standing criminal courts, *quaestiones perpetuae.* At this time a *quaestio* was an investigation by a specially appointed commission; Naevius presides over the trials here mentioned before going out to his province. It must be remembered that all the praetors had the same *imperium* and it was a mere matter of arrangement among them which ones should hold court at Rome and which should rule provinces abroad, since all were equally competent for either function.

11, 12. municipia: a *municipium* was a town incorporated into the Roman state by the grant of citizenship, often *sine suffragio*; the citizens had at any rate the private law rights of Romans. **conciliabula**: centres in country districts, where Roman citizens met for purposes of local administration; they had their own petty magistrates but a *praefectus iure dicundo* might also be sent out from Rome. C.L.S. # 545. **aptius**: *more convenient* than to bring the parties and witnesses to Rome.

13. Antiati Valerio: Valerius Antias (of Antium), a famous annalist, is frequently cited by Livy, but often as here with a sneer, more or less distinctly expressed, at his proneness to exaggerate.

14. L. Postumius: praetor the year before; now as propraetor, he continues the work then begun.

15. provincia: = the 'department' or sphere of duty assigned to an official. The geographical sense of the word, which in English is the usual one, came later. An example of this occurs in line 25.

16. Bacchanalium: Livy relates under the years B.C. 187, 186 the dreadful scandals that occurred in connection with the Bacchanalian

rites at Rome and in Italy. The *Senatus Consultum de Bacchanalibus* (B.C. 186) is one of the most famous documents of Roman history as well as one of the most important monuments of the Latin language. It is preserved on a bronze tablet, discovered in 1640, now at Vienna. For an interesting discussion of the episode see Warde Fowler's "The Religious Experience of the Roman People," pp. 344–349.

19. noxios: *guilty.*

22. proximo bello: war in Spain was chronic in this age. Probably the author is referring here to the campaign of B.C. 185 which he describes in an earlier chapter.

23. citeriore: sc. *Hispania.* **Suessetanis**: location not known.

28. de: *over*, with *triumphavit; ex* in line 31 means the same.

Page 60. **2. legerunt**: i.e. they revised the roll of the Senate. Cf. page 12, lines 19–23 and note.

5. notas: written remarks on the roll of senators, knights or citizens, stating the censors' reasons for their action; hence *nota* came to mean 'a brand of disgrace,' 'a stigma.'

7. loco: *rank.* **equos ademit**: to take away a knight's horse was to degrade him from the rank of *eques.*

10. T. Quinctius (*Flamininus*): censor in B.C. 189, one of the last preceding pair. This is the conqueror of Philip of Macedon and the 'liberator of the Greeks.'

12. scortum: in this place, a male favorite, *minion.* **Galliam**: sc. *Cisalpinam.*

14. cavillaretur: *was jeering, mocking, scoffing.*

18. Bolum: the Boii lived in the vicinity of Parma and Mutina. L. Flamininus was ravaging their country in his consulship, B.C. 192.

19. fidem: *a pledge of safety.* **praesens**: *in person.*

27. Valerius Antias: cf. note to page 59, line 13. **ut qui**: relative clause of cause; like *quippe qui*, page 35, line 22.

28. fabulae: *a story.*

29. argumentum: *account, tale, version.*

31. amore deperiret: sc. *Flamininus; was desperately in love, infatuated.*

32. scribit: sc. *Valerius Antias.*

Page 61. **5. amatorem**: sc. *Flamininum.*

8. libare: the offering to the gods of a portion of the food and wine of a banquet was a kind of pagan 'grace before meat.'

11, 12. condicio fertur: *an offer is made.*

13. sponsione: the *sponsio* was a formal promise or a judicial wager to forfeit a sum of money if the promisor should be proved guilty of an offence or fail in his defence in a suit.

16. Asiageni: Asiagenes, or Asiaticus, was the surname given to L. Scipio after his victory over Antiochus, in imitation of his brother's surname Africanus. Such names had not yet become common, as they afterward did. **ademptus equus**: young men of the highest families were selected to be *equites equo publico*, but from the time of the younger Scipio these *equites*, after serving the required *dena stipendia*, gave back their horses to the state and passed out of the equestrian centuries into class I. Apparently Asiagenes had followed the earlier usage and kept his horse after he ceased to serve in the cavalry.

17. censibus: *assessments.*

22. venissent: from *veneo*, not *venio*.

24. terni: sc. *asses*. The valuation of the property in question is first multiplied by ten; then the tax is 3 per 1000, instead of 1 per 1000.

25. Aquam publicam: there were at this time two of the famous aqueducts of Rome in existence — the *Aqua Appia* (B.C. 312; cf. note to page 26, line 26) and the *Anio Vetus* (B.C. 272). The unlawful tapping of aqueducts for private use was a frequent abuse at Rome.

27. immolita: this unusual word is probably quoted from a statute; *inaedificata* and *immolita* occur together in the *lex Iulia municipalis* (of Julius Caesar, B.C. 45).

29. lacus: *basins* or *reservoirs* connected with the aqueducts.

31. locaverunt: the awarding or 'letting' (*locatio*) of contracts for public works was one of the chief functions of the censors. **molem**: probably a *breakwater, jetty*, or *dike*.

32. Neptunias aquas: this place is not known. **per**: *along, by way of;* not, through. **Formianum montem**: perhaps the promontory of Caieta, now Gaëta.

Page 62. **1. atria . . . Maenium et Titium**: their sites cannot be identified.

2. lautumiis: this is the name of a place near the *Carcer Mamertinus* at the foot of the Capitoline; it was a quarry from which *tufa* was dug out of the base of the rocky hill. It was afterward a prison, used especially for slaves. **in publicum**: *for the state*, in order to

use their site for the *basilica*. The *basilica Porcia* on the west side of the *Comitium* next to the *Curia* is the earliest of the many basilicas of which we have knowledge.

3. vectigalia: *taxes* due the state; the contract for collecting them was let to the highest bidders.

4. ultro tributa: sometimes written as one word; *expenditures by the state for public works.* The contracts were let to the lowest bidders.

5. publicanorum: capitalists who made public contracts for the collection of taxes or the construction of public works.

6. induci: *cancelled.* The erasure of writing on wax tablets was done by drawing over the writing the flat end of the *stilus*.

7. ab hasta: a spear was set up in the ground when the state official sold property for the state, and also when they let contracts for the state.

The Battle of Pydna. Gallus, a military tribune, predicts an eclipse of the moon

The Third Macedonian War, begun in B.C. 171, was decided by the Battle of Pydna, June 22, 168, where the Romans under L. Aemilius Paulus defeated Perseus, king of Macedon. The opening sentences describe the heat and weariness of the march of the Romans before the battle.

Page 62. **11. Anni**: attributive, with *solstitium;* like our phrase 'the season of the year.'

15. Statuit: sc. *Paulus*, the Roman consul.

26. alii: contrasted with *Legati*, line 27.

29. Attalus: brother of Eumenes II, and himself afterward King Attalus II (B.C. 159–138) of Pergamus.

Page 63. **3. Nasica**: P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica Corculum, son of the Scipio of page 51, line 20; later a famous jurist, cos. 162, censor 159, cos. II, 155, pont. max. 150.

8. Se: sc. *Nasicam;* the subject of the three subjunctives is *Paulus.*

15. Non operae sit: *it would not be worth while, I have not time.*

16. alias: adverb, *at another time.*

22. si . . . moveret: not a condition contrary to fact, but secondary sequence after *subducit*, historical present.

23, 24. singulorum . . . signorum: *of one maniple after another.*

29. scirent: the subject is, no doubt, Perseus' own troops.

31. C. Sulpicius Gallus: a friend of Paulus, mentioned several times by Cicero, a distinguished orator and student of Greek, who, as this story shows, had a knowledge of astronomy rare among Romans of his time. He was consul in B.C. 166.

32. superiore anno: B.C. 169.

Page 64. **2. hora secunda**, etc.: certain modern astronomers have calculated that the eclipse began at 6.14 P.M. and ended at 9.56 P.M. But the beginning and the end would hardly be perceptible to the soldiers.

7. senescentem: *waning.* **cornu**: *crescent.*

8, 9. trahere in prodigium: cf. *in prodigium vertens*, page 37, lines 27, 28 and note.

9. pridie nonas Septembres: the night of Sept. 3–4. It has been calculated by astronomers that the eclipse occurred on the night of June 21–22. Therefore the error in the Roman calendar at this time was 73 days. Cf. *post circumactum solstitium*, page 62, line 11.

13. nec aliter vates: sc. *movit;* the soothsayer also explained the event as a dire omen.

20. vel: *even.*

22. ad id quod: *besides that.*

24. per speciem immolandi: yet Paulus seems to have been a devout believer in the Roman religion at a time when most of the leading men had lost their faith.

Page 65. **5. tantum abest . . . paeniteat**: *I am so far from regretting.* The *ut* clause is subject of *abest*, A. 571, b.

15. fuerimus: *granted* or *supposing that we were all* (*in the battle*); independent concessive subjunctive, A. 440, B. 278.

17. summum: adverb, *at most;* here, *at the latest.*

26. pro: interjection. **ita comparatus**: *so matched*, i.e. put on such a footing of advantage.

28. Quid: sc. *interest.* Cf. above line 18: *nihilne interest?*

30, 31. instruenda: ablative with *acie.* **erat**: connect with *trepidandum* and *concurrendum.* **At hercule . . . pugnaremus?**

But really should we have had our battle line, to be sure, confused and disordered, but our camp, etc., *or (should we in fact have fought) with nothing to call our own except the bare plain on which we fought?*

32. quidem: *to be sure . . . but.* Cf. note to page 3, line 20.

Page 66. **9. receptaculum**: *a retreat.*

11, 12. tempore suo: *at a favorable moment, choosing their own time.*

17. illud opponitur: *the following objection is made.*

20, 21. mansurum . . . eductarum fuisse: notice the construction of a condition contrary to fact in indirect discourse.

28. Hae: connect with *causae.*

32, 33. priusquam debellavero: *until I have fought to a finish.*

Page 67. **14. Marrucina et Peligna**: Sabellian nations of central Italy.

15. Samnitium: the Samnites proper included the Caudini and Pentri; sometimes the Caraceni and Hirpini are counted with them.

16. Sergius Silus: grandfather of Catiline.

18. Vestina: the Vestini, another Sabellian nation, the Marrucini, Peligni and Samnites were *socii;* Firmum, Cremona, Placentia and Aesernia were 'Latin' colonies. The former furnished their contingents under their respective treaties (*foedera*); the latter under their *formulae*, schedules published in the edicts of Roman magistrates.

20. iumentum: Plutarch's story about this animal is different; he says that Paulus let it escape in order to bring on a fight. (Plutarch, Paulus 18)

22. genus: genitive.

23. trahentes: some words are lost from the text. The subject of *recipiebant*, line 25, is *Romani, tres milites*, or some other words referring to the Romans.

29. praesidio . . .: here two leaves of the Manuscript have fallen out and much of the narrative is lost.

30. Movebat: *made a deep impression, deeply impressed the beholders.*

31. viri: sc. *Pauli.*

Page 68. **1. caetratos**: *peltasts.* **phalanges**: *divisions of the phalanx.*

2. A tergo caetratis: the description is not clear; all we can be sure of is that the legionaries worked into gaps in the Macedonian array and fatally dislocated it.

3. clipeatos: the men of the phalanx, *phalangites*.

4. L. Albinus: consul in B.C. 173.

5. leucaspidem: *with white shields.*

6. fluvium: there are several small streams running into the sea south of, or near to, Pydna; we cannot tell which is meant.

7. alas: *cavalry regiments* or *squadrons.*

10. experiendo: i.e. when one comes to make use of them.

11. ita tum elephanti, etc.: this sentence is so badly confused in the Manuscripts that no one knows how it should be read.

18. intentis horrentis hastis: *bristling with levelled spears; horrentis* agrees with *cuius.* **intolerabiles**: *irresistible.*

19. longitudine: the spear (*sarissa*) of the phalangite, some 24 feet long, was of course very heavy and worse than useless in single combat. On the other hand, each legionary was trained to fight individually with his short, sharp-pointed, two-edged sword after coming to close quarters with the enemy.

22. catervatim: *in (small) bodies.*

25. universa acie: *in one united array.*

28. induissent se: *they would have impaled themselves.*

29, 30. sicut . . . sic: *while* (or *although*) . . . *yet.*

31. Princeps . . . erat: for the sequel of the story see note to page 70, line 31.

Antiochus quits Egypt at the command of a Roman embassy

Antiochus of Syria, invading Egypt in B.C. 168, was met at Rhinocolura on the frontier by envoys suing for peace. He named his terms and fixed a day on or before which they must bring an answer. The date having passed, he continued his march.

Page 69. **1.** Filling up the gaps in the text, we might perhaps read the sentence as follows: *Postquam dies data indutiis praeteriit, navigantibus ostio Nili ad Pelusium praefectis, ipse per deserta Arabiae ingressus receptusque Aegyptum ab iis qui ad Memphim incolebant.*

8. Popillio: C. Popillius Laenas, consul B.C. 172.

10. adhibitis amicis: *after consulting his friends.*

11. pro cetera: *with his usual*, etc.

17, 18. Die finita: *After fixing a date.*

19. fratres: two Ptolemies, Ptolemy VI, Philometor, and Ptolemy VII, Physcon or Euergetes II.

The Triumph of Paulus and the Death of his Sons

The victory of Pydna (B.C. 168) and the downfall of Macedon were celebrated in B.C. 167 by a triumph of a magnificence never before witnessed at Rome. This is the latest event of importance recorded in the extant portion of Livy's history. The death of the two young sons of Paulus within a few days of his triumph was a favorite subject of authors who loved to dwell upon the vicissitudes and contrasts of human life.

Page 69. **28. auro purpuraque**: the *triumphator* wore the *toga picta*, purple embroidered with gold; his chariot was drawn by four horses; the procession ended and the offerings were made at the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.

Page 70. **1. datis in adoptionem**: the two elder sons had been given in adoption to the family of Fabius Maximus and of Cornelius Scipio, and are known in history as Q. Fabius Maximus Aemilianus and P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus (Africanus the younger).

4, 5. quos . . . vehi: it was customary for the triumphator's young children or some dear and honored friend to ride with him in his chariot.

5, 6. ipsos similes praedestinantes triumphos: notice the 'interlocked' order of these words. *triumphos* is object of *praedestinantes* (*anticipating*); *ipsos* agrees with *quos*, the subject of *vehi*.

7. contione: Paulus, having laid down his *imperium* and being no longer a magistrate, has no power to call a mass meeting. It is therefore summoned for him by a tribune.

11. per hos dies: *in the last few days.*

16–18. a Brindisio . . . Corcyram: a quick voyage. It is approximately 120 miles in a direct line from Brindisi to Corfu.

23. saltum: *the pass; ad Petram* is its name. Petra was on the north slope of the Olympus range, about 18 miles southwest of Pydna.

27, 28. quindecim diebus: this cannot be the duration of his whole campaign. It might be the time from crossing the pass near Petra to the battle.

31. Samothracum: taking refuge after the battle of Pydna in the sacred island of Samothrace, near the Hellespont, Perseus was robbed of his money by a dishonest shipmaster, who sailed away and left Perseus no choice but to surrender to the Romans.

Page 71. **5. retro volvi**: here is the immemorial idea of Fortune's wheel ever turning and producing reverses in our lives:

"Turn, Fortune, turn thy wheel, and lower the proud."

7. defunctam: *exhausted itself.*

14. currum: here several words are missing; the reader's ingenuity may be exercised in filling the gap.

15. tanta stirpe: i.e. four sons.

NOTES ON SALLUST'S CATILINE

Page 72. 1. De Catilinae coniuratione: Sallust does not begin his work in this abrupt fashion: his introductory remarks on the proper kind of life and his brief autobiographical sketch are here omitted. **verissume**: Sallust affected an archaic style which led him to employ many unusual spellings. The following instances may be noted:

u for **i** (*verissume*, *existumo*, *lubet*).

u for **e** (*capiundae*).

o for **e** (*univorsos*, *divorsi*, *vostra*).

o for **u** (*novos*).

i in accusative plural of 3d declension i stems (*testis*, *hostis*, *omnis*). **paucis**: supply *verbis*.

2. in primis: often written as one word (*imprimis*), *among the first, especially.*

4. faciam: *priusquam* and *antequam* are used with the subjunctive to denote anticipated action.

5. nobili genere: the Sergian *gens*, to which *L. Sergius Catilina* belonged, was a family distinguished in the earlier years of the republic. Catiline's great grandfather, M. Sergius Silus, was particularly famous, on account of his bravery in the second Punic war. The family claimed descent from the Trojan *Sergestus;* compare Vergil's Aeneid 5, 121, *Sergestusque, domus tenet a quo Sergia nomen.* **magna vi**: ablative of quality or description, here used in the predicate with *vir* understood.

6. ab adulescentia: the period between *pueritia* or childhood and *iuventus* or manhood.

7. fuere: this form of the perfect 3d plural is very common in Sallust.

8. ibique: *and in these.* **iuventutem . . . exercuit**: a Roman was called *iuvenis* until about his forty-fifth year. The deeds of violence here referred to were committed in the days of Sulla's ascendency, when Catiline killed his own brother-in-law, Q. Caecilius, and murdered with revolting cruelty M. Marius Gratidianus, a relative of Cicero. **inediae, algoris, vigiliae**: *asyndeton* is the technical

name for such omission of conjunctions. The genitives depend on *patiens*.

9. supra quam: *more than.*

10. cuius rei lubet: = *cuiuslibet rei*. The practice of inserting a word between the component parts of a compound is called *tmesis* (*cutting*). **simulator ac dissimulator**: *capable of feigning or of concealing.*

11. alieni . . . sui: neuters used substantively in the objective genitive construction.

12. satis eloquentiae, sapientiae parum: such reversal of word order in corresponding phrases is called *chiasmus* (from the Greek letter χ). **vastus**: *insatiate.*

14. dominationem L. Sullae: Sulla's election to the consulship in 88 B.C. was followed by a civil war that lasted until 83, when he made himself master of Italy. Then occurred massacres, proscriptions, confiscations, and a general overthrow and reorganization of the government. Consuls were again elected in the year 81, and Sulla himself was chosen as one of the consuls for the year 80. In 79 he voluntarily resigned his dictatorship and in the following year he died.

15. dum . . . pararet: subjunctive of proviso, a form of condition.

16. pensi: partitive genitive. Translate the phrase, *he did not care.* This is one of a number of idiomatic expressions which Sallust uses again and again. The following are worth memorizing:

ad hoc: *furthermore.*
brevi (supply *spatio*): *soon.*
cuiusque generis (or *modi*): *of every sort.*
ea tempestate (= *eo tempore*): *at that time.*
huiuscemodi: *of this kind.*
in dies: *from day to day.*
in primis (= *imprimis*): *especially.*
nocte intempesta: *late at night.*
optumum factu: *the best thing to do.*
propediem: *soon* (*at an early day*).

17. rei familiaris: *wealth.*

18. quae utraque: his poverty and his guilty conscience.

19. Incitabant: supply *eum*.

20. mala: the subject of *vexabant*, and in apposition with *luxuria atque avaritia.*

Page 73. **1. In tanta . . . civitate**: in the omitted chapters Sallust has given a rapid survey of Roman history and a discussion of the circumstances that made such a conspiracy as Catiline's possible. See the selections for sight translation, pp. 94–98.

2. flagitiorum atque facinorum: referring here not to the deeds but to the doers, *criminals and scoundrels.*

4. manu, ventre, pene: *deeds, appetites, and lusts.*

5. laceraverat: *dissipated, squandered.* **alienum aes**: *debts.* The words usually occur in the reverse order. **quo . . . redimeret**: *to purchase absolution from disgrace or crime.* A relative clause of purpose.

8. manus . . . sanguine: *periurio* has reference to *lingua*, *sanguine* to *manus* (chiasmus).

10. ei: nominative, recapitulating the prodigals, bankrupts, assassins and professional criminals just mentioned. Compare Cicero's classification of Catiline's accomplices (*in Cat.* 2, 18–23).

12. usu: *contact, association.*

15. ut: *according as.*

16. praebere . . . mercari . . . parcere: historical infinitives.

18. obnoxios: *under obligation, beholden.*

21. cuiquam: the indefinite *quisquam* is used only in negative sentences, or, as here, when the negation is not expressed but clearly implied. **compertum foret**: pluperfect subjunctive. The forms *forem*, *fores*, etc. are regular substitutes for *essem*, *esses*, etc. The subjunctive is used because the clause contains a rejected reason.

24. testis: accusative. See note on **verissume**, page 72, line 1. **signatoresque falsos**: *forgers.*

26. maiora alia: cognate accusative with the verb *imperabat.*

27. si . . . suppetebat . . . circumvenire: a past condition with the historical infinitive used as apodosis.

Page 74. **1. gratuito**: *without provocation.*

3. simul: correlative with *et, both . . . and.*

4. Sullani milites: Sulla rewarded his veterans by settling them in colonies upon the confiscated territory of the communities which had resisted him most stubbornly. The cities of Faesulae and Arretium in Etruria, Praeneste in Latium, and Pompeii in Campania were Sullan colonies.

7. In Italia nullus exercitus: according to Sulla's constitution all Italy south of the Rubicon was made civil territory in which no

commanders and no troops were ordinarily found. **Cn. Pompeius**: Gnaeus Pompeius, surnamed Magnus. At the time of Catiline's conspiracy he was in charge of the provinces of Asia, Bithynia and Pontus, and Cilicia, in accordance with the terms of the Manilian Law of 66 B.C., where he was conducting the war against Mithridates and Tigranes.

8. ipsi: Catiline. **consulatum petenti**: this was in July, 64 B.C., at the consular elections for 63. Catiline had twice before desired to be a candidate, but was in each case prevented, in 66 by an impending action for extortion and in 65 by the actual trial.

9. senatus nihil sane intentus: as Sallust elsewhere (chap. 39) describes the situation: *postquam Cn. Pompeius ad bellum maritumum atque Mithridaticum missus est, plebis opes imminutae, paucorum potentia crevit. Ei magistratus, provincias aliaque omnia tenere, ipsi innoxii, florentes, sine metu aetatem agere ceterosque iudiciis terrere, quo plebem in magistratu placidius tractarent.*

10. prorsus: from *pro* + *versus*. Only here equivalent to *omnino, altogether, absolutely.* Elsewhere (e.g. page 77, line 27) it is used to sum up or to point to a conclusion, *in a word.*

11. Kalendas Iunias: the first of June. For a full explanation of the Roman method of reckoning dates, see note on page 80, line 18. **L. Caesare et C. Figulo consulibus**: this was the year 64 B.C. L. Iulius Caesar was a kinsman of the great Julius, under whom he afterwards served as *legatus* in Gaul. Both he and C. Marcius Figulus were firm adherents of Cicero in the proceedings against the conspirators, and voted for their execution.

16. senatorii ordinis: the three great divisions in which the Romans were distributed socially were the senatorial order, the equestrian order, and the plebeians. To become a senator in Cicero's time a man must be a freeman and a citizen, he must have held one of the more important public offices (at least the quaestorship), and he must not be engaged in any undignified occupation, such as that of *lanista, praeco,* or *scriba.* And, of course, senators must necessarily be men of independent wealth, as no salary was paid them for their services to the state.

17. P. Lentulus Sura: *patricius ex gente clarissuma Corneliorum* (page 90, line 5), was quaestor in 81, praetor in 75, and consul in 71. He was removed from the senate by the censors for immorality and in order to reinstate himself in that body became praetor for the second time in 63. He was the most prominent of all Catiline's accomplices,

and cherished hopes of great personal advancement in consequence of the conspiracy. See page 86, lines 22–29. **P. Autronius**: P. Autronius Paetus was quaestor in the same year with Cicero, namely, in 75. He was elected with P. Cornelius Sulla to the consulship for 65, but both were tried and convicted of corrupt canvassing for office. This made them permanently ineligible. **L. Cassius Longinus**: he held the praetorship in 66 and was one of Cicero's competitors for the consulship. **C. Cethegus**: C. Cornelius Cethegus, though still a young man at the time of the conspiracy (see page 104, line 12), was one of the boldest and most dangerous of Catiline's companions.

18. P. et Ser. Sulla Ser. filii: of the Cornelian *gens*, nephews of the dictator. **L. Varguntеius**: he afterwards joined C. Cornelius in an unsuccessful attempt upon Cicero's life (see page 79, line 23). **Q. Annius**: referred to by Q. Cicero (*de pet. cons.* 10) when he says of Catiline: *qui ex curia Curios et Annios . . . sibi amicissimos comparavit.*

19. M. Porcius Laeca: it was at his house that the conspirators met at a later date. See page 79, lines 15–16. **L. Bestia**: L. Calpurnius Bestia was tribune elect, and according to the plans finally decided upon was to give the signal for the outbreak by making a complaint regarding Cicero's acts, after calling a *contio* for the purpose. As the conspiracy was suppressed before he had opportunity to do this, Calpurnius escaped punishment and even assailed Cicero at the conclusion of his consulship, refusing to allow him to make the customary speech before the people. **Q. Curius**: see page 77, line 23, and following.

20. equestri ordine: the equestrian order, or Roman knights, so named because they were originally chosen for voluntary cavalry service on the basis of a property qualification, were the moneyed aristocracy of Rome. Syndicates of *Equites* carried on large business enterprises, engaged in money lending on an elaborate scale, and undertook contracts for public buildings and the collection of taxes in the provinces. **M. Fulvius Nobilior**: perhaps to be identified with *Fulvius, senatoris filius, quem retractum ex itinere parens necari iussit* (chap. 39), though some believe this is the man to whom Cicero refers in a letter written to his friend Atticus in 54 (*ad Att.* 4, 18, 3): *M. Fulvius Nobilior condemnatus est.* **L. Statilius**: this man with Gabinius, according to the final plans, was to have charge of the bands detailed to set fire to the city. (See page 84, line 8 and following.) **P. Gabinius Capito**: he was afterwards in

charge of the negotiations with the Allobroges and, with Statilius, of the plan to burn the city. Cicero (*in Cat.* 3, 6) speaks of *horum omnium scelerum improbissimum machinatorem Cimbrum Gabinium.*

21. C. Cornelius: he afterwards volunteered to make the attempt upon Cicero's life, together with L. Vargunteius. **coloniis et municipiis**: *colonia* was the name applied to a new city-community sent out by Rome; a *municipium* was an already existing city-community which was incorporated into the Roman state.

22. nobiles: at Rome a man was *nobilis* if any of his ancestors had held a curule office (dictator, consul, censor, praetor, master of horse, curule aedile). The smaller towns naturally imitated the usage of the capital.

23. huiusce: Sallust is very fond of using this strengthened form of the demonstrative in the genitive case, particularly in the phrase *huiuscemodi.*

24. dominationis spes: *the hope of unconstitutional power.*

25. Ceterum: *as for the rest.* **iuventus . . . nobilium**: *many young men, but especially young nobles.*

26. quibus . . . copia erat: *men who might have lived.*

28. ea tempestate: frequent in Sallust for *eo tempore.* **M. Licinium Crassum**: the richest Roman of his day, and a man who sought political influence by means of his wealth. He held the consulship with Pompey in 70, became a member of the first triumvirate in 60, and was killed in a battle against the Parthians at Carrhae in 53.

29. quia . . . ductabat: see note on page 74, line 7. Pompey and Crassus had joined forces for mutual support in 70, but they were jealous of each other even during this year of their consulship.

30. cuiusvis: *anyone at all.*

31. illius: Pompey's. **confisum**: *he felt sure*: infinitive, with *esse* omitted.

Page 75. **2. in rem**: *of advantage.*

5. huiuscemodi: as this formula indicates, the following speech is composed by Sallust, but contains the sentiments Catiline would naturally express. By this device Roman historians sought to enliven their narrative; rhetorical effect rather than strict accuracy was their aim.

8. neque . . . captarem: a present, contrary to fact condition, whose protasis is implied in the prepositional phrases (= *si ignavi essetis*, etc.).

9. multis et magnis tempestatibus: *in many great crises*: *tempestatibus* is for *temporibus*, as on page 74, line 28.

12. simul: *also*.

13. nam idem velle . . . amicitia est: there are many sententious utterances of this kind to be found in Sallust.

16. Ceterum: see note on page 74, line 25. **mihi**: a stronger substitute for the genitive of possession, for it carries with it the added idea of advantage.

17. nosmet ipsi: *we ourselves*; the enclitic *-met* is often used with the personal pronouns (except the case forms *tu*, *nostrum* and *vestrum*) to strengthen them, and here still greater emphasis is secured by the addition of the intensive pronoun *ipsi*.

18. vindicamus in libertatem: *emancipate ourselves*.

19. paucorum potentium: *oligarchy*.

20. reges, tetrarchae: *kings and princes*. The word *tetrarches* means strictly the ruler of the fourth part of a country, but is used in a more general sense to indicate any petty monarch. **vectigales esse . . . stipendia pendere**: provincial taxes sometimes took the form of tithes, or the payment in kind of a tenth part of the produce of the land; in this case the persons paying it were called *vectigales*. If the tax was a fixed amount, however, it was called a *stipendium*.

22. volgus: *rabble, canaille*.

25. pericula, repulsas, iudicia, egestatem: *jeopardy, rebuffs, prosecutions, starvation*.

26. quousque tandem: compare Cicero's *Quousque tandem, abutere, Catilina, patientia nostra?* (*in Cat.* 1, 1).

27. quam: after the comparative idea contained in *praestat*.

28. ubi . . . fueris: perfect subjunctive. The second person singular of the subjunctive is used to denote an indefinite and general subject, *you* in the sense of *anyone*.

29. Verum enimvero: *but indeed*. **pro . . . fidem**: do not confuse with the preposition *pro*. This interjection (sometimes written *proh*), is usually accompanied by the vocative except in the phrase here found, where the accusative is used to express strong emotion (accusative of exclamation).

Page 76. 1. aetas: *time of life* in general. The specific meaning in each case is decided by the context. Here it clearly means *youth*, since it is contrasted with *annis . . . consenuerunt*. **illis**: dative of reference.

4. illis divitias superare: *divitias* is the subject of *superare*, which is here used intransitively; *illis* is a dative of reference.

5. exstruendo . . . coaequandis: such allusions to villas built out over the water and mountains removed to make way for the rich man's house are a commonplace in Roman authors who decry the luxury and extravagance of their times. Compare Horace (Odes 3, 1, 33–34): *Contracta pisces aequora sentiunt | iactis in altum molibus.*

6. binas . . . continuare: *join two or more houses into one.*

7. larem familiarem: the name of this characteristic deity of Roman private worship is often used as a synonym for the home itself.

8. tabulas signa, toreumata: *paintings, statues, embossed work in metal.* The Latin equivalent for the Greek word *toreumata* is *vasa caelata* (page 97, line 21). **nova diruunt**: that is, in their frantic desire to be up to date and to outdo their rivals.

9. trahunt, vexant: *squander and misuse.* Compare page 98, lines 10–14.

10. summa lubidine: *however much they may want to.*

11. At: *but*, a strong adversative. Distinguish carefully from *atque* (*ac*).

12. quid reliqui habemus: partitive genitive.

14. Quin . . . expergiscimini: an exhortation in question form. *quin* with the second singular present indicative means *why don't you, why not;* its use with the imperative is developed from this.

15. optastis: syncopated form; compare *audistis*, page 75, line 16.

20. nisi forte: ironical.

23. accepere: see note on page 72, line 7.

24. quieta movere: *to break the peace.*

25. magna merces: *great gain.*

28. tabulas novas: *the abolition of debts;* the substitution of new accounts (*tabulae*) for those containing records of debts. **proscriptionem**: the word originally referred merely to the posting of a notice of sale; it acquired its new and sinister meaning in the days of Sulla, when lists were posted containing the names of those whose goods were confiscated and whose lives were declared forfeited as enemies of the state.

30. Praeterea esse: the verb of saying is understood: *he said furthermore.* **Hispania**: at this time Spain was divided into but two provinces, called *citerior* and *ulterior* with respect to Rome.

Page 77. **1. Pisonem**: Cn. Calpurnius Piso, *adulescens nobilis, summae audaciae, egens, factiosus, quem ad perturbandam rem publicam inopia atque mali mores stimulabant* (chap. 18). Apparently he had been sent to Spain as quaestor with praetorian powers by the influence of Crassus, in the hope that he might prove useful as a tool to be employed against Pompey. He oppressed the provincials and was killed in a mutiny. **Mauretania**: in northern Africa, the modern Fez and Morocco. **P. Sittium Nucerinum**: Publius Sittius, of Nuceria in Campania, was a soldier of fortune who afterwards fought in Africa, where he was of great service to Caesar.

2. C. Antonium: uncle of Mark Antony, the triumvir. He was praetor in 66 with Cicero and was also elected as his colleague to the consulship in 63. Cicero later secured his support against the Catilinarian conspirators by exchanging provinces with him (see note on page 78, line 28), and even placed him in command of the forces sent out to fight Catiline.

5. agundi: see note on **verrissume**, page 72, line 1.

10. petitionem: *candidacy*. This is the technical word used for soliciting an office.

13. popularis: accusative; here = *socios*.

14. pateris: the *patera* was a shallow cup used in pouring out libations to the gods.

17. eo: anticipating the *quo* that follows: *on this account . . . that.* **dictitare**: *he kept saying*. The subject of the following infinitive is here omitted as it is the same as the subject of *dictitare*.

18. alius alii . . . conscii: *all sharing in a guilty knowledge of so great a crime.*

20. Ciceronis invidiam: he was afterwards held responsible for the death of the conspirators by those who regarded the execution as illegal. At the conclusion of his consulship he was forbidden by a tribune to make the usual speech, and in 58 was banished from Rome for having put Romans to death untried.

21. poenas dederant: *had been punished;* literally, *had given satisfaction.* To punish is *poenam capere* or *exigere.*

23. Q. Curius: mentioned again on page 78, lines 25–27, and page 79, lines 26–27.

24. censores moverant: the censors, whose duties included the assessing of property, the distribution of citizens into their respective tribes, classes, and centuries, and the management of state finances, also had the oversight over the lists of knights and senators and could

deprive a man of his vote, degrade a knight, or remove a member of the senate from that body by entering a *nota* after his name in the list. They became in this way the recognized custodians of the morals of the state and could punish citizens for private misconduct as well as for neglect of public duties.

27. prorsus: see note on page 74, line 10.

28. quicquam pensi habebat: see note on page 72, line 16.

29. stupri vetus consuetudo: *an intrigue of long standing.*

Page 78. **2. maria montisque**: a proverbial expression for extravagant and impossible promises, like our English "heaven and earth."

5. sublato auctore: *without divulging her source of information.*

6. quae quoque modo: the enclitic *-que* connects *quae* with *quo modo.*

8. Ea res in primis: Sallust is clearly mistaken in placing the beginning of Catiline's conspiracy in the year 64, that is, before the elections for 63; there would have been no point in fomenting a secret rebellion and at the same time seeking by constitutional means the power he so much desired. As a matter of fact, his repulse in the elections for 62 was the actuating cause of the conspiracy; its beginning falls in the year 63 and after the elections for 62.

9. M. Tullio Ciceroni: he was a candidate for the consulship in the summer of 64, and had six competitors, the most formidable of whom were C. Antonius and Catiline.

10. nobilitas invidia aestuabat: because he was a *novus homo*, a selfmade man, the technical term for one who was the first of his family to hold a curule office.

12. post fuere: *were forgotten.*

13. comitiis habitis: this was in July, 64 B.C.; in Cicero's time the new consuls took office according to custom on the first day of the following January.

14. C. Antonius: see note on page 77, line 2.

17. fide: *credit.* **sumptam mutuam**: *borrowed.*

18. Faesulas: an ancient Etruscan city still represented by the modern village of Fiesole, about three miles from Florence. Sulla had established a colony at Faesulae and Catiline counted upon the support of these discontented and turbulent veterans. **Manlium quendam**: C. Manlius (or Mallius) had served under Sulla in the

capacity of centurion, and had been sent by him to a military colony — perhaps Faesulae. He had squandered the great wealth which he had amassed under Sulla and accordingly was a suitable and willing leader for Catiline's discontented soldiers of fortune. For his part in the battle of Pistoria, see pages 92 and 93.

19. princeps fuit: see page 80, lines 15–18.

21. designatus: the word regularly applied to an official who has been elected but has not yet entered upon his term of office; here *consul-elect*.

22. ex voluntate: *as he liked*.

26. Fulviam . . . Q. Curius: see page 77, line 23 and following.

28. pactione provinciae: Cisalpine Gaul had been allotted to Antonius, and the richer and therefore more highly prized province of Macedonia to Cicero. In exchanging with his colleague Cicero secured his coöperation without much self-sacrifice, as he had no desire to govern any province and afterwards refused Gaul just as he had previously refused to leave Rome after his praetorship. **ne . . . sentiret**: *not to harbor designs*.

Page 79. **1. dies comitiorum**: on the day preceding the date in July on which the meeting of the centuriate comitia for the election of magistrates with the *imperium* was to be held, Cicero secured a postponement on account of Catiline's incendiary speeches, and the next day arraigned Catiline before the senate. The date to which the elections were postponed is a subject of dispute. Probably, however, they were held on a later day in July. The date sometimes given — October 28 — seems extremely unlikely, for after the *senatus consultum* of October 21 the consul need not hold the elections at all, and it would then also have been unnecessary to protect himself by purely private means (as related by Cicero, pro Murena 52).

3. in campo: in the Campus Martius, the regular voting place.

6. C. Manlium: see note on page 78, line 18. **eam partem Etruriae**: his activities in this region are described below in line 29 and following.

7. Septimium quendam: he is not mentioned again. **Camertem**: a native of the city of Camerinum (now Camerino) or its vicinity, in Umbria near the borders of Picenum. **in agrum Picenum**: a province of central Italy extending from the Apennines to the Adriatic between the Aesis and Matrinus rivers. **C. Iulium**: otherwise unknown.

8. in Apuliam: a province between the Apennines and the sea, bounded by the Frentani on the north, by Samnium on the west, and by Calabria and Lucania on the south. **quem . . . credebat**: *each man where he thought he would be useful.*

11. cum telo esse: *was armed.*

15. per M. Porcium Laecam: this meeting at Laeca's house and the attempt to murder Cicero really occurred after the *senatus consultum ultimum* was passed (page 80, lines 7–14). Sallust's account is not to be relied upon chronologically. This meeting was held on the night of November 6, the attempted assassination was frustrated in the early morning of the 7th, and the meeting of the senate at which Cicero delivered his first speech against Catiline was called on November 8.

22. C. Cornelius: see page 74, line 21.

23. L. Vargunteius: see page 74, line 18.

24. sicuti salutatum: *as though to pay their respects*, as it was the Roman custom to do early in the morning.

29. Interea: that is, while these various plans were being made by the conspirators in the city. **Manlius**: see note on page 78, line 18. **in Etruria**: particularly in the vicinity of Faesulae; see line 6 above. **31. agros . . . amiserat**: Etruria had been severely punished by Sulla at the close of the civil wars for supporting his enemy Marius. The fields had been laid waste, land had been confiscated, and numerous colonies established. See note on page 78, line 18.

32. cuiusque generis: *of every sort*, one of Sallust's favorite expressions. See note on page 72, line 16.

Page 80. **1. ex Sullanis coloniis**: see notes on page 79, line 31, and page 74, line 4. **quibus . . . fecerat**: *who because of riotous and luxurious living had nothing left of all their plunder.*

3. ancipiti: explained by the following clauses, *neque . . . poterat* and *neque . . . compertum habebat.*

6. compertum habebat: this compound form of the pluperfect is rare, and serves to indicate the continuance of the result expressed; the difference in force between this and the ordinary form of the pluperfect may be indicated by the English sentences "He had collected the evidence" and "He had the evidence collected" (i.e. it was now in its final form and ready for use). **ad senatum refert**: *brought the matter before the senate*, the regular meaning of this technical phrase. The ordinary procedure was for the presiding magistrate to

bring a matter before the house, either by stating the facts in the case or advocating some definite course of action. He then proceeded to ask the opinions (*sententias rogare*) of the senators in the order of their rank. Any senator called upon was at liberty to make a motion, and at the close of the debate the presiding officer put to vote such motions as he saw fit and the first that passed by a majority vote constituted the action of the senate. This meeting was held on October 21. (See note on page 79, line 15, and compare Cicero (in Cat. 1, 7): *meministine me ante diem XII Kalendas Novembris dicere in senatu fore in armis certo die, qui dies futurus esset ante diem VI Kal. Novembris C. Manlium . . .*

7. exagitatam: *anxiously discussed.* **quod plerumque . . . solet**: supply *fieri*. There are twelve recorded instances of recourse to this measure between the years 121 (when Opimius by virtue of its authority put Gaius Gracchus to death) and 43 B.C.

9. Ea potestas . . . maxuma: the question of the constitutionality of this procedure has been much discussed. (See especially Willems, "Le sénat de la république romaine," 2, 247–257 and R. W. Husband, "The Prosecution of Catiline's Associates" in the Classical Journal, Vol. 9, 1, October 1913, pages 4–23). Greenidge ("The Legal Procedure of Cicero's Time," page 405) says of it: "The question of its right is legally insoluble, and the insolubility is based on the fact that there was no permanent government in Rome except one that was accepted by custom."

12. imperium: "The *imperium* represents the supreme authority of the community in its dealings with the individual. . . . Under the republic the exercise of the *imperium* within the city was limited, especially by the right of appeal. It was still enjoyed by the magistrate abroad, however, and the term was practically restricted in its application to the absolute power exercised by him." (Abbott, R. P. I., page 153.)

13. sine populi iussu: note that the quasi dictatorial powers conferred by the *consultum ultimum* were bestowed by the senate, not by the people.

15. Post paucos dies: about a week. The *senatus consultum* was passed October 21, and the uprising occurred October 27. See note on line 6 above (last part). **L. Saenius**: otherwise unknown.

18. ante diem VI. Kalendas: three days in the Roman month had names, *Kalendae*, *-arum*, *Nonae*, *-arum*, *Idus*, *-uum*. All of these are feminine plural nouns with which the adjectival names of the

months are used in agreement. The Kalends fell on the first of each month, the Ides on the fifteenth of March, May, July, and October, and the thirteenth of other months, the Nones nine days before the Ides, accordingly on the seventh or the fifth. Dates were reckoned as so many days before one of these named days, counting both ends. So six days before the Kalends of November means October 27.

19. portenta atque prodigia: *signs and portents.* Cicero (*in Cat.* 3, 18) describes them: *visas nocturno tempore ab occidente faces ardoremque caeli, ut fulminum iactus, ut terrae motus relinquam.*

20. Capuae atque in Apulia: Capua was the capital of Campania, an important city and the seat of several gladiatorial schools. For Apulia see note on page 79, line 8. The servile war of 73 had been started by Spartacus and his fellow gladiators at Capua, and had been finally crushed in Apulia two years later. **servile bellum**: the possibility of an uprising was an ever present source of terror on account of the enormous number of slaves in Italy. In addition to the war against Spartacus mentioned above, there had been revolts in Sicily in 134–132 B.C. and in 104–101 B.C.

21. senati: Sallust uses sometimes *senatus*, sometimes *senati* as the genitive, but as the latter form is most common in the phrase *senati decretum* it seems a reasonable assumption that he employed it only in technical terms where its use had been customary from ancient times. Notice especially page 89, lines 17–20, where Sallust uses the terms *senatus magna pars* and *senati decretum* in the same paragraph. **Q. Marcius Rex**: he was sole consul in the year 68, as his colleague died at the very beginning of his term of office. As proconsul he went to Cilicia, where he had been obliged to turn over his province and army to Pompey upon the passage of the Manilian Law in 66. Upon his arrival in Faesulae on the mission here mentioned, Manlius tried to come to some agreement with him but Marcius' reply was unconditional: *si quid ab senatu petere vellent, ab armis discedant, Romam supplices proficiscantur* (chap. 34).

22. Q. Metellus Creticus: Q. Caecilius Metellus, surnamed Creticus for his exploits against the pirates of Crete, whom he overcame after a long and desperate struggle, refusing to relinquish his command to Pompey although the latter had been given full control of the war against the pirates of the Mediterranean by the Gabinian Law. Accordingly Pompey's supporters frustrated his hope of a triumph when he reappeared at Rome in 63. He finally secured the coveted

honor as well as the *agnomen Creticus* in the year following the failure of Catiline's conspiracy.

23. ad urbem: *near the city*, but outside. The *imperium* of a commander had force only outside the walls of Rome; if these men had entered the city they would thereby have forfeited their right to a triumph. Lucullus waited three years outside the city. **impediti ne triumpharent**: in order to enable a general to retain his *imperium* inside the city during the day of his triumph, special legislation was necessary, namely a *privilegium* voted by the people in accordance with a decree of the senate. This action had not yet been taken.

25. praetores: since Sulla's legislation there were eight praetors, all of whom were judges at Rome during their first year of office and provincial governors the following year. The praetor had administrative duties also, and might conduct military as well as civil matters under a consul's direction. **Q. Pomponius Rufus**: he was governor of Africa in 61.

26. Q. Metellus Celer: Q. Caecilius Metellus Celer, praised by Cicero (*pro Sest.* 131) as *socius laborum, periculorum, consiliorum*. His zealous performance of the duties here imposed upon him is described on page 91, line 3 and following. **agrum Picenum**: see note on page 79, line 7.

27. pro tempore: *to suit the time.*

28. si quis indicavisset . . . praemium: supply *fore;* a future condition in implied indirect discourse. **quae . . . facta erat**: this clause is merely explanatory, and therefore the indicative is retained despite the implied indirect discourse.

29. sestertia centum: about $4294. The word *sestertius* is a contraction for *semis tertius*, which means $2\frac{1}{2}$, and is represented by the symbol ℿS (two units and a *semis*) oftener written HS. As a measure of value it probably represented originally $2\frac{1}{2}$ asses. One thousand sesterces (*sestertii*) make one *sestertium* — a sum of money, not a coin. So *bina sestertia* means 2000 sesterces. But in sums amounting to a million or more sesterces the words *centena milia* are regularly omitted: thus *decies sestertium* is the regular expression for one million sesterces, meaning *decies centena milia sestertium*.

Page 81. 2. gladiatoriae familiae: gladiators were kept in schools in various parts of Italy under the charge of an overseer and trainer called the *lanista; familia gladiatoria* was the name given to

any one establishment. Among the buildings excavated at Pompeii is a *ludus gladiatorius* or gladiatorial school.

3. municipia: see note on page 74, line 21. **distribuerentur**: the presence of large numbers of gladiators was a source of danger as they might easily be induced to take part in any uprising against the state. Accordingly it was thought wise to remove them from the capital. Compare Cicero (*in Cat.* 2, 26): *gladiatores, quam sibi ille manum certissimam fore putavit, quamquam animo meliore sunt quam pars patriciorum, potestate tamen nostra continebuntur.* **pro cuiusque opibus**: that is, their ability to control them.

4. vigiliae: *sentinels.* The word is used only of those that watch by night; *excubiae* is a more general term. **minores magistratus**: those below the quaestorship, namely, the officials whose duties included the preservation of order of the city and the arrest of criminals.

7. diuturna quies: since the year 77, when the consuls Lepidus and Catulus fought in Rome itself.

13. rogitare: *kept asking questions.*

16. movebat, tametsi . . . parabantur: *etsi, tametsi* and *etiamsi, even if, although*, are followed by any of the typical conditional constructions. This sentence corresponds to a simple past condition.

17. lege Plautia: the *lex Plautia* (or *Plotia*) *de vi* dealt with cases of armed violence and breach of the peace. This action *de vi* was really quite welcome to Catiline, for it merely served to show him how little real evidence Cicero possessed. Accordingly he pretended to further the cause of justice by offering himself for safekeeping to M'. Lepidus, and after he had refused to undertake the responsibility, to Cicero himself, to the praetor Q. Metellus and to M. Metellus in turn. **interrogatus**: *accused.*

18. L. Paulo: L. Aemilius Paulus, the brother of the triumvir Lepidus. He was afterwards instrumental in securing Cicero's recall from exile.

19. sicut . . . lacessitus foret: a conditional clause of comparison. In all such sentences the conclusion (apodosis) is to be supplied: *he came into the senate as* (he would have come) *if he had been assailed.* The subjunctive is regular, and the tense follows the rules for sequence. **in senatum venit**: until new plans were made, it was absolutely necessary for Catiline to stay at Rome and face his accusers. The general populace was as yet by no means convinced of his guilt.

21. orationem habuit: this is the first of the four Catilinarian orations, and was delivered in the senate on Nov. 8, 63.

22. postea scriptam edidit: not until the year 60. Of course the speeches as we now have them are in a much more finished and elaborated form than the actual extempore invectives which Cicero delivered in the stress of these critical times.

25. ea familia: see note on page 72, line 5.

28. perdita re publica opus esse: connect with the *sibi* in line 27. The ablative depends upon *opus esse*.

29. cum: *while, whereas.* **inquilinus civis**: Cicero was born at Arpinum, in the country of the Volscians.

32. inquit: regularly used with direct discourse as *dico* is used with indirect.

Page 82. **2. ex curia**: unless we are to suppose that Sallust was in error with regard to the place of meeting, the word here refers to the assembly, not the building, for Cicero says in his second speech against Catiline (12): *hesterno die, cum domi meae paene interfectus essem, senatum in aedem Iovis Statoris vocavi.* **multa ipse secum volvens**: *after much deliberation.*

3. procedebant: *succeeded.*

6. multa antecapere: *to prepare in advance.*

7. in Manliana castra: in Etruria; see page 79, line 6.

9. quibus rebus possent: a historical present is usually regarded as a secondary tense, and accordingly followed by the imperfect or pluperfect subjunctive. But note that when one dependent clause is itself a main clause with regard to a second dependent clause, it is customary to use primary sequence for the first and secondary for the second. Here *possent* depends upon *confirment* which in its turn depends upon the historical present *mandat.*

12. ad urbem: Rome.

13. apud C. Flaminium: perhaps the Flaminius who was curule aedile in 67 with M. Plaetorius.

14. agro Arretino: an Etrurian city, now Arezzo, in the valley of the Arnus, situated on the *via Cassia*, the road from Rome through Etruria.

15. cum fascibus atque aliis . . . insignibus: the *fasces* or bundles of rods with an ax (*securis*) bound in the center of each bundle were symbolical of the authority to beat and to kill. A consul was regularly preceded by twelve lictors bearing the *fasces* (but

without the *secures* so long as he was inside the city limits). The other consular *insignia* consisted of the red-bordered toga and the curule chair. By the unlawful assumption of such signs of power Catiline proclaimed himself a foe to constitutional authority. Compare Cicero *in Cat.* 2, 13.

17. senatus . . . iudicat: a citizen who had taken up arms against the government was declared a *hostis* and treated like a foreign invader.

18. sine fraude: *unpunished.*

19. rerum capitalium condemnatis: *men condemned for capital offenses.*

20. dilectum: the levy was made through recruiting officers (*conquisitores*) in the various districts of Italy. In the case of a sudden war or uprising in Italy (*tumultus*) the senate as an extraordinary precautionary measure might proclaim a *tumultus*, in which case the city was occupied by troops and all the usual exemptions from military service were suspended, the citizens assuming the *sagum* or military cloak instead of the *toga*, the garb of peace. So on this occasion companies of veterans exempted from service were called out to the aid of the state. (See page 92, line 13: *cohortis veteranas, quas tumultus causa conscripserat.*) **Antonius**: see page 77, line 2. Antonius did not, however, take part in the battle in which his former friend and fellow-conspirator was killed. See page 92, line 11: *C. Antonius, pedibus aeger quod proelio adesse nequibat.*

23. Lentulus: see note on page 74, line 17.

26. cuiusque modi: see note on *cuiusque generis*, page 79, line 32.

27. P. Umbreno: he was a freedman (Cicero *in Cat.* 3, 14), perhaps a former slave of P. Lentulus. Mention is afterwards made of a fear that the freedmen and clients of Lentulus might make an attempt at a rescue (page 87, line 6).

28. legatos Allobrogum: ambassadors of that nation, probably in Rome to seek relief from the various wrongs mentioned below. The Allobroges had been conquered in 121 by Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus and Q. Fabius Maximus. **ad societatem belli**: *to join in the war; belli* is an objective genitive.

Page 83. **1. publice privatimque**: *both as a nation and as individuals.*

2. natura . . . bellicosa: so Tacitus (in speaking of the Britons) remarks: *nam Gallos quoque bellis floruisse accepimus* (Agricola 11).

4. negotiatus erat: *had been engaged in business*, probably before his manumission, as his master's representative.

5. noverat: the verb *nosco* means *to become acquainted with;* consequently the perfect tense *I have become acquainted with* is equivalent to the present *I know*, and the pluperfect is used for past time, *I knew*.

6. in foro: the center of Roman political and religious life, and a natural meeting place as the Allobroges were in Rome on business of state.

7. eius casum: the antecedent of *eius* is *civitatis*.

9. avaritia magistratuum: Roman officials.

12. qua . . . effugiatis: subjunctive in a relative clause of purpose.

14. sui: genitive plural, depending upon *misereretur*.

16. D. Bruti: D. Iunius Brutus, consul in 77; not the Brutus who was one of Caesar's assassins.

17. propter Semproniam: the wife of Brutus, described by Sallust in an omitted chapter (25) of this work as: *litteris Graecis et Latinis docta, psallere et saltare elegantius quam necesse est probae, multa alia, quae instrumenta luxuriae sunt, sed ei cariora semper omnia quam decus atque pudicitia fuit.*

26. volventibus: *considering*.

27. Q. Fabio Sangae: in 58 he made intercession for Cicero, who was then in exile, approaching both Pompey and the consul Piso in Cicero's behalf.

28. patrocinio: that is, he was the legal representative of the race at Rome. This Fabius was probably a descendant of Q. Fabius Maximus Allobrogicus, the conqueror of the Allobroges.

31. dentque operam: *and should strive*.

Page 84. **1. cum ceteris**: mentioned below.

3. in agrum Faesulanum: where Manlius already was; see page 79, line 6. **L. Bestia tribunus plebis**: see page 74, line 19. As December 10 was the regular date on which a tribune entered upon the duties of his office the *contio* here mentioned could not be set for an earlier date than that. It seems, however, that the conspirators afterwards postponed it until the Saturnalia; compare Cicero *in Cat.* 3, 10: *Hanc autem Cethego cum ceteris controversiam fuisse dixerunt quod Lentulo et aliis Saturnalibus caedem fieri atque urbem incendi placeret, Cethego nimium id longum videretur.*

4. contione habita: *calling an assembly of the people;* this he would have a right to do by virtue of his authority as tribune.

7. ea: refers to *suum quisque negotium.*

12. alius autem alium: supply *aggrederetur.*

13. filii familiarum: that is, not *sui iuris*, but still under the authority of their fathers (*patria potestas*). Sallust uses the plural *familiarum* instead of the more usual form *familias.*

15. erumperent: Catiline would by that time, presumably, be in the vicinity of Rome with his army.

16. parata atque decreta: *preparations and plans.* **de ignavia sociorum**: perhaps Lentulus in particular, for Sallust afterwards (chap. 58) represents Catiline as saying to his men: *scitis equidem, milites, socordia atque ignavia Lentuli quantam ipsi nobisque cladem attulerit, quoque modo, dum ex urbe praesidia opperior, in Galliam proficisci nequiverim.*

21. manu promptus: *quick to act.*

24. ceteros conveniunt: here transitive, meaning to meet and speak with. **item Cassio**: purposely separated from the others to mark the difference between them: he too was *asked*, but he alone was sharp enough not to give written evidence that might convict him.

25. ad civis: *their fellow citizens*, namely, the Allobroges.

27. brevi: see note on page 72, line 16.

29. T. Volturcium: he afterwards turned state's evidence, was pardoned and rewarded. **Crotoniensem**: of Croton or Crotona, on the east coast of the peninsula of Bruttii.

Page 85. **4. exemplum**: *a copy.* Cicero's version of the letter (*in Cat.* 3, 12) is identical in content, but differs slightly in wording, as would naturally be the case if Cicero were quoting from memory.

5. Fac cogites: equivalent to *fac ut cogites, see that you consider, do consider;* a common construction in colloquial (hence in epistolary) Latin.

8. ab infimis: that is, the slaves; see the next sentence.

10. servitia: for *servi;* Sallust is fond of using abstract nouns denoting a function or state instead of the concrete.

13. per legatos: supply *Allobrogum.* **cuncta edoctus**: note that the accusative of the thing may be retained in the passive construction. **L. Valerio Flacco**: he had seen much service in Asia, Gaul, Cilicia, Spain, and Crete. **C. Pomptino**: he afterwards carried on war against the Allobroges.

14. in ponte Mulvio: still in existence and now called the ponte Molle. It carried the *via Flaminia* across the Tiber, about a mile and a half outside the Aurelian wall. The road was built in 220 B.C. and the bridge is at least as old, if not older.

15. comitatus: *retinue.* **cuius gratia**: *gratia* is here used with prepositional force and is equivalent to *causa.*

16. uti . . . ita: logically the *ita* clause precedes.

17. homines militares: an appositive with causal force.

19. ad id loci: the same as *ad id locum;* Sallust frequently uses the partitive genitive in such expressions, especially after a neuter accusative. Compare *nihil reliqui, nihil pensi.* **cum Volturcio**: page 84, line 29.

20. cognito consilio: *understanding the plan.*

Page 86. **3. perdundae rei publicae**: corresponds with *oneri* above; equivalent to *rei publicae excidio.* **confirmato animo**: *taking heart.*

5. Caeparium Terracinensem: a native of Tarracina or Anxur, a Volscian city at the end of the Pomptine marshes (compare Horace, Satires 1, 5, 26: *Impositum saxis late candentibus Anxur*). Caeparius had been instructed to arouse the shepherds of Apulia (Cicero *in Cat.* 3, 14).

10. in aedem Concordiae: in calling a meeting of the senate the consul had the right to determine upon the place where it should be held, provided that it was *in loco per augurem constituto, quod templum appellaretur* (Aulus Gellius, 14, 7). The senate usually assembled in Cicero's time in the *Curia Hostilia* or in the temples of Concord, Castor, Jupiter Stator, or Tellus. The *aedes Concordiae* was erected originally to commemorate the close of the struggle between the patricians and plebeians by the passage of the Licinian Laws in 367 B.C., and rebuilt in 121 B.C.

11. magna frequentia: no quorum was required by law until the time of Augustus, although fines might be imposed for absence.

12. Flaccum praetorem: see page 85, line 13.

13. scrinium: *letter-case.* **litteris**: the letter quoted above, page 85, lines 5–9.

17. fide publica: *upon assurance of safety in the name of the state.*

24. ex libris Sibyllinis: the name is explained by Varro (quoted by Lactantius, *Divinarum Institutionum Liber* 1, 6, 7–13) as follows:

Sibyllinos libros ait non fuisse unius Sibyllae, sed appellari uno nomine Sibyllinos, quod omnes feminae vates Sibyllae sint a veteribus nuncupatae. He also tells how a *Sibylla* appeared at Rome, *eamque novem libros attulisse ad regem Tarquinium Priscum ac pro iis trecentos philippeos postulasse regemque aspernatum pretii magnitudinem deristisse mulieris insaniam; illam in conspectu regis tris combusisse ac pro reliquis idem pretium poposcisse; Tarquinium multo magis insanire mulierem putavisse; quae denuo tribus aliis exustis cum in eodem pretio perseveraret, motum esse regem ac residuos trecentis aureis emisse.* Whatever their origin, the books existed and were kept in the Capitol under the charge of *duo* (later *quindecim*) *viri sacris faciundis.* Their contents consisted apparently of oracles and prophecies which were interpreted and applied at the senate's bidding by those legally appointed for this task. After the burning of the Capitol in 83 B.C. a new collection seems to have been made.

25. Corneliis : that is, belonging to the Cornelian *gens*, or family. **Cinnam** : L. Cornelius Cinna was renowned as a leader of the popular party during Sulla's absence in the east (87–84). He recalled Marius, held the consulship with him for a time, and afterwards with Flaccus and with Carbo. He was finally killed in a mutiny.

26. urbis potiri : in Cicero and Caesar *potior* is regularly followed by the ablative except in the phrase *potiri rerum*, meaning to control the situation. In Sallust, however, *potior* is regularly followed by the genitive.

27. ab incenso Capitolio : the use of a passive participle in agreement instead of an abstract noun followed by a dependent genitive is regular in Latin. Compare the title of Livy's work, *ab urbe condita.* The temple of the Capitoline divinities, Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Juno and Minerva, was burned July 6, 83. .Compare Cicero *in Cat.* 3, 9.

28. haruspices : paid soothsayers or prophets who interpreted the will of the gods by the examination of the entrails of victims offered in sacrifice, or by observing certain natural phenomena. They are not to be confused with the *augures*, who were lawfully appointed religious officials.

30. signa sua : *their seals.* That of Lentulus was the picture of his grandfather. Compare Cicero (*in Cat.* 3, 10): *Est vero . . . notum quidem signum, imago avi tui, clarissimi viri, qui amavit unice patriam et civis suos.*

31. abdicato magistratu: the reason is given by Cicero (*in Cat.* 3, 15): *ut quae religio C. Mario, clarissimo viro, non fuerat quo minus C. Glauciam de quo nihil nominatim erat decretum praetorem occideret, ea nos religione in privato P. Lentulo puniendo liberaremur.* **in liberis custodiis**: a prisoner of rank accused of a crime against the state might be kept under arrest in the home of a magistrate or even in his own house.

32. P. Lentulo Spintheri: he was consul in 57, and on the first day of his term of office moved that Cicero be recalled from exile.

Page 87. **1. aedilis**: the curule aedileship was an office established in 366 to offset the plebeian aedileship, and owes its name to the fact that those elected to this office (for which none but patricians were eligible) had the right to sit in the curule chair as well as to wear the bordered toga and to keep in their *atria* waxen masks of themselves to be handed down to posterity (*ius imaginum*). Their principal duties were, as in the case of the plebeian aediles, the *cura urbis* or preservation of order in Rome, the *cura annonae* or supervision of the grain supply, and the *cura ludorum* or charge of the games. **Q. Cornificio**: he had been one of the unsuccessful candidates for the consulship in the elections in which Cicero and Antonius were chosen. **C. Caesari**: if, as Mommsen believes (IV, 486), Caesar and Crassus were really implicated in the conspiracy, Cicero's purpose in making them personally responsible for these two minor conspirators was to force them either to avow their own part in the plot by conniving at their subordinates' escape or else to pose as innocent of all connection with it, and thus make possible the execution of the prisoners, which would have been difficult to accomplish if they were known to be only the tools of the democratic leaders. In the latter case they would, of course, be compromised in the eyes of their followers as well.

2. M. Crasso: see preceding note, also the note on page 74, line 28.

3. Cn. Terentio senatori: otherwise unknown.

6. liberti: when a slave was set free he was called a *libertus* and his former master became his *patronus*, the relation between them being analogous to that of father and son. **ex clientibus**: *dependents* (plebeians, foreigners or freedmen).

7. opifices: *artisans.* **servitia**: see note on page 85, line 10.

10. familiam: that is, his slaves.

11. orabat in audaciam: *urged to deeds of valor.*

13. convocato senatu: this was on December 5, and in this session Cicero delivered his fourth oration against Catiline.

14. refert: see note on page 80, line 6.

15. paulo ante: see page 86. The affair at the Mulvian Bridge took place on the night of December 2 and the prisoners were brought before the senate, assembled in the Temple of Concord, early on the morning of December 3. This is the meeting here referred to. That same evening Cicero delivered his third oration against Catiline before the people, and on December 4, another session of the senate was held at which rewards were bestowed upon Volturcius and the ambassadors of the Allobroges. Compare Cicero *in Cat.* 4, 10: *Is et nudius tertius in custodiam civis Romanos dedit et supplicationem mihi decrevit et indices hesterno die maximis praemiis adfecit.*

16. D. Iunius Silanus: he had been a candidate for the consulship the previous year when Cicero and Antonius were elected, but was unsuccessful as he was *inops et ab amicis et existimatione* (Cicero *ad Atticum* 1, 1, 2).

17. sententiam rogatus: after stating the business before the meeting (*relatio*), the presiding officer ordinarily asked the opinions of various members in the order of their rank. They were classed as *consulares, praetorii, aedilicii, tribunicii* and *quaestorii*; consuls elect were asked their opinions first of all, and praetors elect took precedence of the *praetorii*. **consul designatus**: that is, he had been regularly elected (with L. Licinius Murena), and would assume the duties of office on the first of January following.

19. L. Cassio: see notes on page 74, line 17, and page 84, line 24. **P. Furio**: one of the colonists whom Sulla had sent to Faesulae in 78. Compare Cicero *in Cat.* 3, 14: *in P. Furium qui est ex eis colonis quos Faesulas L. Sulla deduxit.* **P. Umbreno**: see note on page 82, line 27. **Q. Annio**: see note on page 74, line 18.

21. pedibus . . . iturum: *he would vote.* The formula used in putting a question to vote was: *qui hoc censetis, illuc transite; qui alia omnia, in hanc partem*, and the senators took their places (*pedibus ire*) on one side or other of the house. **Ti. Neronis**: Tiberius Claudius Nero had served as Pompey's *legatus* in the war against the pirates in 67 and had been given charge of the coast in the vicinity of Gibraltar.

22. praesidiis additis: probably to be explained by Cicero *in Cat.* 4, 14: *Iaciuntur enim voces quae perveniunt ad auris meas eorum*

qui vereri videntur ut habeam satis praesidi ad ea quae vos statueritis hodierno die transigenda.

25. huiuscemodi: that is, the speech that follows is Sallust's, the sentiments expressed are Caesar's. Only the conclusion of the speech is here given; the first part will be found among the selections for sight translation on page 98 and following.

26. patres conscripti: the traditional form of address in speaking before the senate.

27. eguere: of the three common verbs meaning to lack or need, *careo* is ordinarily followed by the ablative, *indigeo* by the genitive and *egeo* by either. **illis . . . obstabat**: this verb is regularly followed by the dative.

Page 88. **2. Arma atque tela**: for example, the spear (*veru, verutum*). Compare Vergil, Aeneid 7, 665: *veruque Sabello.* **ab Samnitibus**: the people of the district known as Samnium in central Italy, with whom the Romans had had frequent and critical conflicts. **insignia magistratuum**: the *trabea* or robe of state, the *toga praetexta*, the *sella curulis*, the twelve lictors with the *fasces.*

3. ab Tuscis: the people of Etruria.

6. Graeciae morem: the erroneous impression current in antiquity that the death penalty had been imported from Greece was due to the fact that before the codification of laws in 451 the Romans had sent a commission to Greece to study the laws of that country.

7. animadvortebant: from *animum* and *advertere, to turn the mind to, to notice*, hence in particular *to punish.*

8. summum supplicium: *capital punishment, the death penalty.*

9. factiones: Sallust (Jugurtha 31) defines the word: *inter bonos amicitia, inter malos factio est.*

10. lex Porcia: the Porcian Laws seem to have allowed an appeal to the people, and in this way to have permitted voluntary exile. See Greenidge, The Legal Procedure of Cicero's Time, page 320 and following.

13. quo minus . . . capiamus: the idea of hindering is implied, not actually expressed.

14. illis . . . in nobis: the use of unlike constructions in corresponding clauses (*inconcinnity*) is a rhetorical device intended to secure greater variety of expression, and reaches its greatest development in the style of Tacitus.

17. Placet: *do I favor.*

18. censeo: an equivalent form of expression for *sententiam dicere*, and the answer to the presiding officer's question: *Quid censes?* **publicandas**: supply *esse; confiscated.*

19. quae . . . valent: Sallust frequently uses the indicative instead of the subjunctive in a subordinate clause in indirect discourse. For other examples see page 87, line 14 (*traditi erant*) and page 77, lines 20–21 (*est, credebant, dederant*).

20. neu quis . . . referat: of course, such a provision, if passed, would serve merely as a deterrent to individuals who might desire to have the case reconsidered; if at any time public opinion were strong in favor of a reversal of the decision, the same body which had passed the original decree might countenance another of quite the opposite import.

21. qui aliter fecerit: a relative conditional sentence indirectly quoted.

24. verbo: *briefly.*

25. M. Porcius Cato: great-grandson of Cato the censor, and usually distinguished from him by the name *Uticensis*, in commemoration of his suicide in 46 at Utica in northern Africa. He was a man of great courage in upholding his principles and always stood for the cause of abstract justice. He refused to outlive the republic.

27. mens: *opinion.*

29. disseruisse . . . de poena: sharply contrasted with *cavere;* Cato says it is prevention, not discussion, that is needed.

Page 89. **4. signa, tabulas**: see note on page 76, line 8.

5. pluris . . . fecistis: *have regarded as more valuable.* The genitive case is used to express indefinite value.

8. Non agitur: *it is not a question of.*

10. Quare: the sections of Cato's speech here omitted will be found among the passages for sight translation on pages 102–104.

15. manifestis rerum capitalium: *evidently guilty of capital crimes.* **more maiorum**: that is, death by scourging. This punishment could be inflicted upon a *hostis*, and consequently whenever there was held to be no appeal. See Greenidge, The Legal Procedure of Cicero's Time, page 322.

17. consulares: *ex-consuls.*

18. ad caelum ferunt: *extolled, lauded to the skies.*

20. senati: see note on page 80, line 21.

22. in Catonis sententiam discessit: supply *pedibus; passed over to.* See note on page 87, line 21.

23. noctem . . . antecapere: *to anticipate*, that is, not to let a night intervene before carrying out the sentence imposed.

24. triumviros: the *IIIviri capitales* were the public executioners.

26. in carcerem: the *Carcer*, at the foot of the Capitoline hill, between the Curia and the Temple of Concord, is one of the oldest buildings in Rome. Its two dungeons may still be visited under the modern churches that have been built above them.

27. Tullianum: this lower chamber, originally entered only by an opening in the floor of the room above, was the scene of the death of Jugurtha and of Vercingetorix, as well as of the Catilinarian conspirators. Tradition states that St. Peter was imprisoned in this same building.

27. ubi . . . ascenderis: the indefinite use of the second person in a relative conditional sentence of general application.

Page 90. **1. camera**: *a vaulted ceiling.* The *Tullianum* is built in the form of an irregular truncated cone, as the blocks of which the walls are built are laid in such a way that each course projects inward farther than the one below it. The roof is an extremely flat arch of stones fastened together with iron clamps. **incultu**: *neglect, want of care.*

3. vindices rerum capitalium: the *IIIviri capitales* mentioned above.

5. ex gente clarissuma: the *Cornelia gens* was one of the most famous houses of Rome; to it belonged Sulla and the Scipios, as well as many other distinguished men. **consulare imperium**: the highest honor to which a citizen of the Roman republic could attain.

7. exitium: an archaic use of the word for *exitum.*

10. duas legiones: the word is here used to denote merely a military unit; he had the organization of two legions, but not the full complement of men.

11. cohortis pro numero: the cohort consisted theoretically of 600 men (three maniples, each made up of two centuries), and was itself the tenth part of a legion. Catiline apportioned his 2000 soldiers among the twenty cohorts required by the organization into two legions.

16. sparos aut lanceas: both missile weapons. The *sparus* was used primarily as a hunting spear, and not intended for warfare.

17. sudis: *stakes.*

18. Antonius: the consul; see page 82, line 20.

19. vorsus: postpositive preposition governing *Galliam*.

22. servitia . . . cuius: the singular of the relative pronoun is here used to refer to a plural antecedent.

Page 91. **1. in agrum Pistoriensem**: in northern Etruria, at the foot of the Apennines, on the road between Florentia and Luca, represented by the modern town of Pistoja.

3. Q. Metellus Celer: see note on page 80, line 26. **cum tribus legionibus**: raised *pro tempore atque periculo* (page 80, line 27). **in agro Piceno**: see note on page 79, line 7. Cicero (*in Cat.* 2, 5), speaks of Metellus as in command *in agro Piceno et Gallico*, the latter district being to the north of Picenum. Consequently he was able to reach the passes of the Apennines in time to block Catiline's way of retreat.

7. illi . . . properanti: dative of reference; *illi* refers to Catiline.

9. utpote qui . . . sequeretur: *considering that*. This explanatory or causal relative is ordinarily followed by the subjunctive. Sallust, however, except in this one instance, uses the indicative. *utpote* heightens the causal sense, but is found only rarely. **expeditos**: *unencumbered, in light marching order*.

14. contione advocata: *calling an assembly*. The word may also be used of the speech made at such a meeting and of the place from which it is delivered. **huiusce modi**: the beginning of the speech is here omitted.

19. ne . . . queat: subjunctive after a verb of hindering. The regular construction with *prohibeo*, however, is the infinitive.

20. angustiae loci: partitive genitive.

22. quam . . . relinquatis: the subjunctive follows *potius quam*.

25. signa canere: *to give the signal for battle*.

Page 92. **1. pedes**: *on foot*.

2. sinistros montis: *mountains on the left*.

3. rupe aspera: take *aspera* as an accusative and *rupe* as a qualifying ablative of specification. **octo cohortis**: he had twenty; see note on page 90, line 11.

4. in subsidio: *in reserve*.

5. centuriones omnis: six to a cohort, accordingly there would be seventy-two in these twelve *reliquarum* cohorts. Catiline's plan was to present a good front at all hazards. **lectos et evocatos**: *picked men and veterans*.

7. C. Manlium: see note on page 78, line 18.

9. calonibus: *his camp servants.* **propter aquilam**: *near the standard.* **bello Cimbrico**: the *Teutones* were defeated by Marius at *Aquae Sextiae* in 102, the *Cimbri* and their allies by Marius and Catulus in the following year below *Vercellae.*

11. ex altera parte: *on the other side.*

12. M. Petreio legato: perhaps identical with the Petreius who, with Afranius, offered strong resistance to Caesar at Ilerda in Spain, in the civil war of 49.

13. cohortis veteranas: see note on page 82, line 20. **tumultus causa**: the proclamation of a *tumultus* was equivalent to a declaration of martial law. In dealing with Catiline, the senate had passed its *consultum ultimum* on October 21, had declared a *tumultus* after October 27, and about two weeks later, or after November 8, proclaimed him a public enemy.

18. amplius annos triginta: after words like *amplius, plus* and *minus* the word *quam* may be omitted without changing the construction. The ablative of comparison is also found after these words, however. **tribunus . . . praefectus . . . legatus . . . praetor**: there were six *tribuni militum* to a legion, usually young men of good families seeking the military experience prerequisite for political life; the *praefecti* were commanders of the auxiliary cohorts and *alae* (non-Roman troops), three to each *ala;* the *legatus* was in command of a legion, and the word *praetor* was an archaic term for commander, still used by the soldiers though no longer a title.

24. ferentariis: *skirmishers.*

27. instare . . . resistunt: Sallust often alternates the historical infinitive with a finite verb in his desire for variety. See page 77, lines 5 and 6, and page 98, line 6 (*eripiebant*) and line 8 (*adimere*).

Page 93. **1. contra ac ratus**: *contrary to his expectation.*

2. cohortem praetoriam: *his bodyguard.*

6. memor generis: objective genitive. On the allusion to his family see note on page 72, line 5.

9. cerneres: potential subjunctive: *you might have seen.*

11. quem: with *locum.* **vivos**: nominative.

14. advorsis volneribus: *with wounds in front.*

18. ingenuus: *freeborn.*

19. iuxta pepercerant: that is, not at all.

24. alii . . . pars: *inconcinnity;* see note on page 88, line 14.

NOTES ON CICERO'S LETTERS

Page 105. Letter 1. T. Pomponius Atticus, to whose close friendship with Cicero we are indebted for a great part of our intimate knowledge of the latter, was born about 109 B.C. of an old equestrian family. When he was still a young man, he left home for Athens, where he spent twenty-two years, returning in 65 B.C. to assist Cicero in his candidacy for the consulship. Atticus was very wealthy both from inheritances and from his own successful business operations, which consisted largely in lending money at interest. He aided Cicero and other friends at home financially. Trained in the same manner, he acquired tastes in literature and in art similar to Cicero's, so that Cicero frequently asked his advice not only in regard to his orations and other literary works but employed him to collect works of art for his villas. On political questions, too, Cicero consulted him but received only scanty direction. It is plain, however, that Atticus did not share Cicero's faith in Pompey and was not inclined to take sides in the struggle between Pompey and Caesar in 49 B.C. In fact he kept aloof from politics, as no doubt his business interests demanded and as his universal popularity indicates. He was married on the 13th of February, 51 B.C., to Pilia. He had a daughter who was married to M. Vipsanius Agrippa and became the mother of Vipsania Agrippa, the wife of Tiberius Nero. In spite of his great wealth and estates in Italy and abroad, Atticus lived moderately and without ostentation. He died at the age of seventy-seven. His sister Pomponia was the wife of Quintus Cicero, the brother of Marcus.

Rome, July, 65 B.C. Cicero explains to Atticus the prospects for his election to the consulship in 64 B.C. and gives us some information in regard to the political practices of the day.

1. Petitionis . . . ratio: note the position of the genitive.

2. possit: v. A. 535. B. 283.

3. Prensat: note the picturesque force of the iterative verb. Galba alone was openly soliciting support. **sine fuco ac fallaciis**: without regard for Galba's feelings.

4. negatur: *is said no to, gets no for an answer.* **rationi**: *prospects.*

5. praepropera: the election was not to be held until July 64 B.C.

8. cogitaramus: epistolary tense. The time indicated is that of the recipient of the letter.

9. puerum: *messenger, tabellarius.*

10. campo: sc. *Martio.* **a.d. XVI Kalend. Sextiles**: the formal candidacy of a candidate was announced seventeen days before the election. The *prensatio*, however, as we see, began long before.

11. videantur: cf. *possit* above.

12. P. Sulpicius Galba; C. Antonius, who was Cicero's colleague in the consulship (cf. Letter 2); Q. Cornificius. **in hoc**: i.e. the list of candidates.

13. Ut . . . ferias: the same gesture to-day signifies astonishment or despair. M. Caesonius had been associated with Cicero in political office and had been one of the *iudices* at the trial of Verres, where, as discretion dictated, Cicero seems to have had a very different opinion of the man. Cf. in Verr. I, 20. *Competitorem futurum esse* is to be understood with both *Caesonium* and *Aquilium* below (14). C. Aquilius Gallus, a celebrated jurist, praetor with Cicero in 66 B.C.

15. iuravit morbum: Aquilius had sworn that on account of ill-health he could not run for the consulship.

16. Catilina: Cicero refers to the coming trial of Catiline, who was accused by Cicero's later opponent of appropriating public funds. Cicero does not seem to think much of Catiline's chances of acquittal.

17. Aufidius had been praetor in Asia. Palicanus had been tribune in 71 B.C. These men were too insignificant for further notice. Of those mentioned above only Antonius and Cornificius were among the actual candidates.

18. De iis qui nunc petunt: Cicero now turns to the election of consuls for 64 B.C. **Caesar**: L. Julius Caesar was elected. He was the uncle of M. Antonius whose mother Julia married, as her second husband, P. Lentulus, the confederate of Catiline.

19. Thermus cum Silano, etc.: for the remaining office. It is possible that Q. Miuncius Thermus became consul in 64 B.C., having had his name changed through adoption to C. Marcius Figulus. D. Junius Silanus was consul in 62 B.C. Cf. in Cat. 4, 7.

Page 106. 1. ἀδύνατον *impossible.* **Curium**: probably Q. Curius, who informed on Catiline and the other conspirators. **obducere**: *to bring forward.*

4 ff. This desire is not consistent with the description given above. **fieri**: sc. *consulem*. **reciderit**: what mood?

6. curator: as road commissioner, Thermus would come into touch with the voters dwelling along the *via Flaminia*.

7. accuderim: This word is a very probable conjecture for *acciderim* of the Mss.

8. cogitatio: *opinion*.

11. Gallia: *Cispadana*. **refrixerit**: on account of the many holidays.

12. Pisonem: C. Calpurnius Piso, cos. 67 B.C. and now governor of Gallia Narbonensis. **legati**: *a legatio libera*, an unofficial embassy which, when granted, enabled a senator to travel at the government's expense. Cicero had, of course, only private reasons for this junket.

13. voluntates nobilium: it was largely through the influence of Pompey, whose interests he had furthered by his support of the Manilian Law, that Cicero hoped to gain the support of the aristocracy.

19. The rest of this letter illustrates the conflict between practical politics and personal obligations. Caecilius and his relations with his nephew are described by Cornelius Nepos, Att. 5.

21. agere . . . cum: *to sue*.

22. dolo malo: *fraudulently*. **mancipio accepisse**: *had bought*. **diceret**: account for the mood.

23 f. L. Lucullus et P. Scipio: the former was the general whom Pompey succeeded in the war against Mithridates; the latter, a general of Pompey in the Civil War and later of the Optimates, killed himself after the battle of Thapsus, 46 B.C.

24. magistrum: sc. *auctionis*. In this case L. Pontius would have represented the interests of the creditors at the sale of the debtor's goods. The auctioneer was the *praeco*.

27. adessem: as *advocatus*.

28. L. Domitius: notorious for his surrender of Corfinium. Cf. Letters 22 and 23. Killed at Pharsalus.

30. petitionibus: for the lower political offices. Quintus had probably already been quaestor and aedile.

31. ambitio nostra nititur: '*my candidacy rests its hopes of success*.'

Page 107. **1. illo**: *Satyro*.

5. officio meo . . . et tempori: Cicero argues that Caecilius should respect both his obligations to Satyrus and his interests as a candidate for political office.

7. vellem: has reference to Cicero's reluctance to offend Caecilius on account of Atticus' interests; **quam homines belli solent**: a reference to the effect of the old man's boorishness on Cicero himself.

11. contra amici summam existimationem: *against a friend when his whole reputation was at stake.*

14. putabis: polite future, *you will please think*, etc. This use is almost equivalent to an imperative.

15. ἐπεὶ οὐχ ἱερήιον οὐδὲ βοείην: *since for no paltry prize (do I strive).* *Il.* XXII, 159.

16 ff. Cicero excuses his action in one sentence and hastily closes a disagreeable subject.

19. Hermathena: a two-faced statue, Hermes on one side and Athena on the other.

20. ἀνάθημα: *offering.*

Letter 2. **M. Cicero S. D. C. Antonio M. F. Imp.**: *M. Cicero salutem dicit C. Antonio Marci filio imperatori.* Gaius Antonius, Cicero's colleague in the consulship, 63 B.C., had, through Cicero's not altogether disinterested aid, received the province of Macedonia as proconsul. This letter is written to introduce Atticus and to commend him and his business in Macedonia to Antonius' attention. Cicero's relations with Antonius had become somewhat strained, probably as a result of Cicero's acts during their consulship and Cicero's subsequent unpopularity, in addition to certain later causes which are hinted at in this letter. See Att. I, 12. 1–2.

22. commendaticias: *of introduction.*

23. intellegerem: subjunctive of denied reason. A. 540, Note 3. B. 286, 1, b.

24. rogarent: v. A. 519. B. 303.

25. coniunctione: '*intimacy.*' **T. Pomponius**: Atticus.

26. maxime conscius: Atticus was Cicero's confidant in almost all matters.

Page 108. **2.** It is his duty to Atticus to write.

4 ff. Cicero feels the ingratitude of Antonius for his services and devotes the greater part of the letter, in characteristic fashion, to this subject. We see, also, that Atticus had undertaken to act as go-between.

9. audivi: Cicero uses a less dangerous word than his favorite '*comperi*,' which had become a nickname for him on account of its frequent use in connection with the Catilinarian conspiracy. Cf. p. 112, line 7.

11 ff. Antonius had become involved in difficulties in his province, and talk, apparently emanating from Antonius, was connecting Cicero with the misappropriation of money. Certainly Pompey was intending to move Antonius' supersession. Further, Antonius was in debt to Cicero, and the latter expresses, in the letter to Atticus cited above, his firm resolution not to defend him. In this letter (lines 19 ff.) he practically promises, under certain circumstances, to undertake his defense. This he actually did but was not successful.

20. sustinebo: the logical antecedent of *Quae* is *reliqua*, '*what remains to be done*,' Cicero's efforts in Antonius' behalf.

22. insanire: in trying to help a man who does not wish one's aid. Atticus was to disclose to Antonius the reasons for Cicero's dissatisfaction.

Page 109. Letter 3. 1. S. T. E. Q. V. B. E.: *Si tu exercitusque valetis, bene est.* A formal address. **publice**: '*officially.*' Pompey was still in the East and had sent to Rome official dispatches concerning his success in the war against Mithridates.

3. spem otii: *hope of peace*, thus confirming Cicero's opinion of Pompey as expressed in the oration for the Manilian Law.

4. veteres hostis, novos amicos: the democrats, the popular party, led by Julius Caesar and M. Crassus, who would view with suspicion any *rapprochement* between the senate and a man of Pompey's prestige, whom they had hoped to ally with themselves.

6. iacere: *lie low, are prostrated.* **Ad me**, etc.: It seems that Cicero had written to Pompey a letter of congratulation, in which he had included an account, no doubt at length, of his services to the state during his consulship. Pompey, perhaps bored, appears to have made an unsatisfactory reply.

9. meorum officiorum conscientia: *consciousness of having done my duty to my friends.*

12. studia: support of the Manilian Law and the proposal of a *supplicatio* for Pompey's successes in the East.

16 ff. The real reason for this letter now appears. With the ingenuous frankness which is truly characteristic of him, Cicero bares his wounded feelings and complains that Pompey has not given him the credit which he so richly deserves. Cicero missed this not only in his own letter from Pompey, but also in the official dispatches.

18. vererere: Pompey's supposed reason is quoted. By giving the desired recognition to Cicero's acts as consul, Pompey would

have in reality sanctioned the execution of the conspirators and thus brought himself into ill favor.

22 ff. The friendship between Scipio Africanus and Laelius was a favorite theme of Cicero. The careful construction of this letter is shown by nothing better than by the artistic arrangement of words in the last sentence, the emphatic position of *tibi*, the emphasis put upon the eclipse of Africanus' glory by the use of *quam Africanus fuit;* while the mock-modest *me . . . quam Laelium* is subordinated. *Laelium* is not a case of attraction. Cf. A. 407, a.

Page 110. Letter 4. 1. putidum: *shameless.*

2. distinebar: epistolary imperfect. Cf. note p. 105, line 8.

tantulae: *little.*

4. Primae ontio Pompei: Pompey's first speech after his return from Asia. The letter referred to is not extant. By **miseris** is meant *the poor;* by **improbis** (*rascals*), the democrats; by **beatis**, *the wealthy;* by **bonis**, the party to which Cicero was attached, *the optimates.* All parties looked to Pompey as their possible champion. He succeeded in disappointing all, as he generally did, for he was not a politician, either from lack of political sagacity or from an honest desire to serve what he regarded as the best interests of the state.

6. frigebat: *was a 'frost.'*

7. Tum: *afterwards.* This assembly called by the tribune Fufius was held outside the city. . . . Pompey by entering the city would have forfeited his right to a triumph . . . and Cicero ironically calls it a **πανήγυρις**, *solemn conclave* . . . on market day (*die nundinarum*), alluding of course to the rabble that would naturally collect at such a time. Note the position of **πανήγυρις**.

10. iudices: usually chosen by lot. **quo consilio**, etc.: '*whom said praetor should employ as his jury.*'

11. de Clodiana religione: *the sacrilege of P. Clodius*, who, dressed as a woman, had attended the sacrifice to the Bona Dea celebrated in the house of Julius Caesar, the praetor and pontifex maximus. It was not lawful for men to be present. On account of the political aspects of the case and to guard against probable corruption, the senate had proposed the procedure concerning which Fufius interrogates Pompey.

12. μαλ' ἀριστοκρατικῶς: *like a very aristocrat* (one of the optimates).

16. quid . . . sentiret: *what his opinion was.*

18. γενικῶς: '*in general terms*,' i.e. he praised the lawmaking powers of the senate and its guardianship of those laws rather than any specific measures. He was as careful not to offend the popular party in his remarks to the senate as he had been to create no suspicion of himself in the senate by his address before the people.

19. de istis rebus: *concerning those acts of yours . . .* the acts of Cicero as consul. **Crassus**: Marcus Licinius Crassus, later triumvir.

24. mihi acceptum referre: a bookkeeping term, *set it down to my credit, owed it to me.*

26. locum: *topic.*

27. Aristarchus: a severe Alexandrian critic of the second century, B.C.

Page 111. **1. ληκύθους**: '*oil flasks*,' or as Tyrrell thinks, *paint pots*, i.e. *colors, rhetorical flights.* Cf. Cat. *Orations.* Compare Aristophanes. Ran., 1184 ff. Plut. 810. Cicero is here poking fun at himself, as often. **valde graviter**: *in a very telling way.*

2. Pompeium: acc. governed by *proximus.*

3. moveri: *was annoyed.*

6. Litteris: *speeches.*

7. perstrictus: *slighted, belittled.*

8. illo: i.e. *Pompeio.*

9. ἐνεπερπερευσάμην: '*vaunted myself.*'

10 ff. περίοδοι: '*well-rounded periods.*' **καμπαί**: '*easy transitions.*' **ἐνθυμήματα**: '*antitheses.*' **κατασκευαί**: '*tricks.*'

13. ὑπόθησις: *subject, theme.*

15. in hac materia: *on such a subject as this.* **sonitus**: '*thunders.*'

16. usque istinc: *even from where you are.*

18. The Areopagus was the highest judicial assembly of the Athenians.

20. rogationi . . . ferendae: *for proposing the bill*, to the assembly of the people.

21. barbatuli iuvenes: *youths with little beards, immature young men.*

22. filiola Curionis: the younger Curio, called *filiola* on account of his notorious loose living, perhaps.

23. Operae: *gangs.*

24. pontes: passages leading from the enclosures (*saepta*) in which the people were collected for the purpose of voting. Each voter was supposed to be supplied with two *tabellae*, one marked **V.R.**, the other, **A.**

25. Hic: *thereupon.* **tibi**: ethical dative.

28. plena . . . salutis: i.e. full of regard for what was best for the state, '*patriotism.*' **eodem**: *in rostra.*

29. Favoni: M. Favonius, an aristocrat, often mentioned by Cicero, was pardoned by Caesar for siding with Pompey and put to death after fighting at Philippi with Brutus and Cassius.

Page 112. **2. Curioni . . . facienti**: *Curio* (the elder) *urging to pass.*

4. concessit: *yielded, did not interpose his veto.*

5. contiones miseros: *vile harangues.*

7. comperisse: v. p. 108, line 9 and note.

12. ille alter: Piso.

14. ἀπρακτότατος: *futile.* **καχέκτης**: *ill-affected, such a reactionary, so unwholesome in his principles.*

17. bonos: the optimates, Cicero's party.

21. Pseudocatone: *a would-be Cato.* **Quid quaeris**: *need I say more?*

22. Τεῦκρις: by many believed with good reason to refer to C. Antonius or to an agent of Antonius. v. note to line 11, p. 108, and cf. Ad Att. I. 12.

24. Argiletani aedificii: *of the house on the Argiletum*, a district of Rome. **dodrantem**: *three-fourths.* v. A. 637. **HS DCCXXV**: v. A. 633. The symbol for *sestertius* (*semistertius*) was variously written *IIS*, *HS.*

25. venditat: intensive of *vendo.*

26. Lucceio: a wealthy man of letters to whom Cicero addressed a most remarkable letter (Ad Fam. V. 12), asking that Lucceius, who was engaged in writing an historical work, give him perhaps a little more credit than he deserved for the deeds of his consulship. **petiturire**: *longs to be a candidate.*

Page 113. Letter 5. **1 f. ὑπόστασιν nostram ac πολιτείαν**: '*my political platform*' (Tyrrell). **Σωκρατικῶς εἰς ἑκάτερον**: *in the manner of Socrates, on both sides.*

3. illi: the members of the Socratic school of philosophy. **τὴν ἀρίσκουσαν**: *the one that pleases (me), my preference.*

4. legi agrariae: the law of Julius Caesar to obtain grants of land for veterans of Pompey.

5. dimicatio: (*dangerous*) *struggle.* By opposing this measure Cicero would come into collision with the triumvirs.

9. Balbum: from Gades in Spain. Consul in 40 B.C. He was frequently the go-between for Caesar and Cicero.

12. Hic sunt haec: Cicero enumerates the advantages to be gained by accepting the overtures of the triumvirs, conveyed to him by their agent, Cornelius Balbus.

14. κατακλεῖς: *wind-up, conclusion* (Tyrrell).

16. Interea, etc.: a fragment of Cicero's poem on his consulate. Another verse from this poem, no less strained than these verses, runs: *O fortunatam, natam me consule, Romam!*

20. ἀριστοκρατικῶς: *like an aristocrat*, but also with the idea of noble, high-principled. **Calliope**: the muse of history. This gentle sarcasm directed against himself Cicero uses, as does many another conceited man, at the same time as an extenuation and a confession of his conceit. Cf. **λικόθους** on p. 111, line 1, and note.

22. εἷς οἰωνὸς, etc.: *the one best omen is to defend the fatherland.* (*Il. XII*, 243).

23. Compitaliciis: *at the Compitalia*, a festival held shortly after the Saturnalia on a day appointed by the praetor.

25. rogat: *is inviting.* Pomponia was the sister of Atticus and the wife of Quintus Cicero. **matrem**: the mother of Atticus.

26. Θεοφράστου περὶ φιλοτιμίας: *Ambition, by Theophrastus.* Atticus was visiting at one of the villas of Quintus Cicero.

Page 114. Letter 6. In this letter we see the beginnings of Cicero's fear for his own safety. The triumvirs are in supreme control; Caesar and the ineffective member of the senatorial party, Bibulus, are the consuls; Caesar has received the government of the Gauls and four legions for five years; the whole legislative program of the Triumvirs had been adopted; the consuls-elect, L. Piso and A. Gabinius were under the control of Caesar and Pompey respectively; and through Pompey's aid Clodius had been adopted into a plebeian family and had been elected tribune of the plebs. Rumors were abroad that the triumvirs were planning to remove some of the more prominent optimates from Rome. Cicero seems to have some fear of

Clodius' intentions and is not altogether sure of Pompey's friendship. He is plainly anxious, and we get the feeling that he realizes his isolation and is at a loss to account for it.

1. subtiliter: *in detail.*

2. reliquisti: Atticus was in Greece at this time. Compare Ad Att. I. 16. 11. He had intended to go to Asia to visit Quintus Cicero, but had changed his mind.

3. eius modi dominatio: Cicero refers to the growing powers of the triumvirs.

4. ita . . . ut: *although . . . yet.* **sine pernicie**: *not necessarily fatal.*

7. Catoni irati: M. Porcius Cato had opposed the measures of the triumvirs and had been instrumental in blocking the efforts of the equites to secure better terms from the senate for the farming of the revenues. Cato was a hide-bound conservative, always upon high moral grounds.

8. ita lenibus . . . venenis: *poison so slow.*

13. impressam orbitam: its track on the ground.

18. deformatus corpore: This may refer to the *fasciae* which Pompey wore to conceal a sore on his leg.

19 f. praecipitem: *dangerous.* **inconstantem reditum**: *retreat, weak*, i.e. inconsistent with his former position.

20. Pompey's real friends, Cicero says, are among the *boni*, enemies though they be at present; the rascals with whom he is associated are not his friends.

21 ff. mollitiem: Cicero's. The sight of Pompey haranguing the crowd in answer to the edicts which Bibulus posted about the city seems to have affected Cicero deeply, as being unworthy of such a man.

25. ut: *how.*

Page 115. **2. Venerem**: one of the pictures of Venus by Apelles.

4. pictum, etc.: Cicero modestly takes on himself the responsibility for Pompey's rise.

6. Clodianum negotium: Pompey's participation, as *auspex*, in Clodius' adoption. Cicero's trust in Pompey's friendship is almost pathetic in the light of later developments.

8. Archilochia: Archilochus, a Greek poet, was famous for the bitterness of his satires.

11. ipsi: i.e. *Pompeio.*

13. acer in ferro: *highspirited in battle.*

21. vocem: from the *contio*.

28. ad tempus illud: at the time of Clodius' coming attack.

33. Sicyoniis: Atticus was floating a loan for the people of Sicyon in the Peloponnesus.

Page 116. Letter 7. On his election to the tribunate, Clodius immediately began his attack on Cicero. Among other measures which he proposed was one, that anyone who had put to death Roman citizens without trial, should be banished. It was evident that this was directed against Cicero, who, more confused than helped by the conflicting opinions of his friends as to what he should do, and deserted utterly by Pompey, finally yielded to the advice of those who urged him to leave Rome, and departed towards the end of March, 58 B.C. On the same day Clodius brought forward a bill banishing Cicero by name. By the terms of the decree he was not allowed to reside within four hundred miles of Rome. His property was in large part confiscated or destroyed. The site of his razed house on the Palatine Clodius was dedicated to *Libertas*.

Letter 7 was written from Thurii in Bruttium when Cicero probably was on his way from Vibo, where he had stayed two weeks with his friend Sicca, whence in May he went to Brundisium and thence to Thessalonica, where he remained in the house of Cn. Plancius, his intimate friend. The letters written during Cicero's exile are the letters of a broken-hearted man, overwhelmed by the sudden and unexpected wave of misfortune which had taken from him all he held dear.

2. vivo: a colloquial expression much like our own usage; *I pass a most wretched existence.*

4. adsequi non potes: because Cicero would be at Brundisium about to take ship for Thessalonica.

7 f. His nature, Cicero says, has not been changed by adversity.

Letter 8. 10. At Brundisium on the eve of his departure into exile, Cicero explains to his wife and children the reason for his not writing more frequently. The first sentence is evidently in answer to their complaint. **litterae**: *letters.*

13. vitae cupidi: he would thus have avoided the disgrace of banishment and the price of parting from those he loved, while his memory would have been unstained.

15. aliquam, etc.: the slimness of his hope is emphasized by the use of these indefinite words. **commodi**: *usefulness.*

17. haec mala: *my fate.*

18. quoniam neque dii, etc.: neither had the gods answered Terentia's prayers for her husband's safety nor had men rendered to Cicero the help that his services to the state demanded.

21. Flaccus was liable to the confiscation of his goods and loss of citizenship, if not of life, for entertaining the exile.

Page 117. 3. praestaret: A. 558, b. B. 295, 3.

4. Cicero did cherish gratitude or at least kindly feelings toward Flaccus (v. Ad Fam. XIII. 63. Pro Planco 97. Pro Testio 131). This M. Laenius Flaccus is probably not to be confused with the man of the same name mentioned in Ad Att. V. 21. 10 and VI. 1. 6. **profecti sumus, petebamus**: epistolary tenses.

5. a.d. K. Mai: for the more usual *pridie K. Mai.*

8. sic agam, etc.: *I shall act thus:* (I shall not ask you to come now). *If there is any hope, etc.*

10. transactum est: *it's all over.* The more usual form is *actum est*, a colloquial expression.

12. quid Tulliola mea fiet?: *What will become of my little Tullia?* Cf. Ad Att. VI. 1. 14, *quid illo fiet?* The use of diminutives is a marked characteristic of the letters. In this instance *Tulliola* is a term of endearment. In other cases the diminutive is used to express other emotions, pity, contempt. Cf. *pulchellus*, used of P. Clodius Pulcher, Ad Att. I. 16. 10. The diminutive form is not confined to nouns (cf. *misellae* below). It is a characteristic of all colloquial speech.

14. Cicero apparently had not yet paid the dowry to his daughter's first husband, C. Calpurnius Piso, who was loyal to Cicero in his time of trouble.

15. Cicero meus: Cicero's son, Marcus.

17. Tu quid egeris nescio: Cicero does not know whether his wife has been able to save any property from being confiscated.

19. nostrum: *our* (*helper*). **De familia liberata**: Terentia in her letter to her husband had evidently asked what disposition he had made of their slaves. Cicero relieves her mind in regard to her own by telling the promise made to them — that their disposition is in Terentia's hands. As to the rest, if some one else buys his property, the slaves will have a chance to prove that they are his *freedmen;* if Cicero is allowed to buy in his own property, they would still be his slaves, with the exception of those to whom freedom had already been promised.

23. est: note the sequence following this verb. The explanation lies, no doubt, in the fact that we have here virtually an indirect quotation of the agreement which Cicero made in regard to the disposition of his slaves, *abissent* and *potuissent* representing future perfects and *ut . . . essent* an imperative form (*sint*) of the direct discourse.

25. oppido: an adverb of uncertain etymology. **minora**: *trifles*, as compared with his own trouble.

30. licitum esset: colloquial for *licuisset*. **tempestatem**: *fair weather*.

Page 118. 5 ff. Clodius, Sallustius, Pescennius, probably freedmen of Cicero.

10 f. This must have required great power of imagination on Terentia's part.

14. Brundisio: case?

Letter 9. The remainder of the year 58 B.C. saw several attempts to restore Cicero, but no definite action was taken, and the exile vacillated miserably between hope and fear. The departure of Atticus from Rome toward the end of the year deepened Cicero's gloom. His prospects, however, for the next year were more favorable, for the college of tribunes, almost to a man, were in favor of his return and he had the active support of one consul, P. Lentulus Spinther, while the other, Q. Metellus Nepos, an adherent of Pompey, did not oppose him. Upon the assumption of office by the consuls, Lentulus attempted to secure Cicero's recall in the senate and later the same proposal was brought before the people; but it was not until early in August that a law recalling him was passed by the Senate and sanctioned by the *Comitia Centuriata*. Cicero, who had been at Dyrrhachium since late in 58 B.C. awaiting this summons, sailed on the 4th of August, and landing at Brundisium, where Terentia met him, reached Rome on the 4th of September, having learned from his brother on the way of the passage of the law. One of the first things he did upon his arrival was to write this letter to Atticus and thank him for his efforts to bring about his recall.

14. recte: *properly*. Atticus was at this time in Epirus.

16. gratularer: A. 571, a. B. 284, 4. **Cognoram**, etc.: Cicero means that Atticus had been half-hearted in his support and had not tried to aid him. Some of Cicero's friends had urged him to remain and resort to force, if necessary. Atticus, it seems, and others, as

well as Cicero himself, considered it better to leave Rome. Cf. Ad Att. III. 15.

19. nimium . . . diligentem: *not too active*, in the sense of *not very active*. *Nimius* is a word frequently found in colloquial Latin, used generally in place of a superlative, as we use "too" to-day.

20. eundemque te: *but you nevertheless.*

Page 119. 1. Quem: the antecedent is to be found in the possessive pronominal adjective in the preceding sentence.

2. suavitatis: *friendship.*

5. statu: *public position.*

6. forensem: in the law courts.

10. facultatum: *means.*

20. Salutis: the temple of Salus at Rome, near the house of Atticus.

24. concursu Italiae: the senate had called the Italians to Rome in Cicero's support. **legem**: for Cicero's recall.

25. ornatus: *honored*, by attentions of various kinds.

26. legati: reception committees from the towns along the *via Appia.*

27. nomenclatori: it was the business of the *nomenclator* to inform his master of the names of the people he met and to give such other facts in regard to them as would be of service to him.

31. At the *porta Capena* where the *via Appia* entered Rome stood the temple of *Honos* and *Virtus.*

Page 120. 5. senatui gratias egimus: in a speech which we may have preserved to us in the *Oratio post Reditum.* **Eo biduo**: *two days later.*

6. theatrum: where the games (*ludi Romani*) were being held.

7. mea opera: *by my fault.* Clodius may have attributed the scarcity of grain to the number of people who had been brought to Rome by the recall and return of Cicero.

14. Messallam et Afranium: friends of Pompey.

15. in: *in accordance with.*

17. meo nomine recitando: *at the reading of my name* (*my name being read*) among the list of supporters of the bill. Cf. page 124, line 14.

19. This one praetor was Appius Claudius Pulcher, brother of Publius Clodius.

20. dederunt: sc. *contionem.* **senatus frequens**: sc. *fuit.*

22. principem: *first.*

23. alterum se: Cf. p. 126, lines 9 ff.

27. sit: why subjunctive?

28. consularis: *framed by the consuls.*

31. Cicero had in the *Oratio de Domo sua* pleaded before the pontifices and the senate for the restitution of his house, confiscated and destroyed at the time of his exile and the site consecrated by Clodius to Liberty.

32. sustulerint religionem: *remove the consecration*, that is, declare it illegal.

Page 121. **2. aliter**: if the consecration holds. **demolientur**: the buildings set up by Clodius.

Letter 10. **14. mea**: Cicero's own private affairs, as distinguished from the course of events at Rome.

20. hominibus: case?

25. urbe: i.e. the inhabitants, as we say to-day.

26. qui sint, etc.: *I do not know that there are any.*

Page 122. **1. ruere**: *runs riot.*

3. vicatim: *through the streets.*

7. ruinas: '*wrecking* (*of houses*').

8. designatorem: *master of ceremonies.*

16. diaeta curare: *to employ medical treatment.*

19. omnes Catilinas, etc.: 'he made every Catiline thereafter seem an Acidinus.'

20. Cermalo: a part of the Palatine hill.

26. Note the bold ellipsis, quite common in the letters in passages of vivid descriptive character.

28. Marcellinus was *consul designatus.*

29. familiari tuo: Hortensius.

31. Clodius' idea was that if he could postpone prosecution for his rioting until after the elections, he might be elected aedile and thus evade trial. But the resolution was directed to having the trial before the election and it was hinted that no chance to put off the elections would be omitted. As Cicero tells us, however, the elections would have been held, had it not been for Milo's interference.

Page 123. **11. fratrum . . . trium**: Appius, Clodius and Metellus, who was their cousin.

12. Metellus hoped to trick Milo and while the latter was in the forum to hold the election in the *campus Martius*. His stratagem was not successful.

25. heroe: Milo.

27 f. reum . . . fore a Milone: colloquial.

30. casum illum nostrum: *exile*. As a matter of fact, Milo did kill Clodius.

Page 124. Letter 11. **7. superiora**: v. ad Q. fr. II. 1 and II. 2.

8. legationes: *audiences to foreign embassies*. Ptolemy had been driven from his throne in Egypt and his daughter Berenice named as his successor. P. Lentulus Spinther, the consul, had proposed that that one of the two consuls who should receive Cilicia as his province should restore Ptolemy to his throne. Cilicia fell to the lot of Lentulus. Pompey's adherents, however, wished this honor reserved for Pompey.

10. adfuit: *appeared in court* to stand trial for charges preferred against him by Clodius. **advocatus**: the *advocatus* was merely an adviser or a man of prominence who lent the weight of his presence at the trial. The *patronus* was the lawyer who conducted the case.

11. prodicta: *adjourned*. Note the four meetings of the trial before the comitia tributa, on Feb. 2, 6, 17, May 7 (ad Q. fr. II. 5. 4).

14. querelis . . . interponendis: causal. Cf. page 120, line 17.

16. Vestitum . . . mutavit: *put on mourning*.

17. sive: *or rather*.

23. peregerat: the text is probably corrupt.

24. referre gratiam: '*to return the compliment*.'

25. neque mente nec lingua neque ore: Clodius could not think or speak or conceal his confusion.

Page 125. **2. Clodiam**: the elder sister of Clodius, a woman of great beauty and bad reputation, the wife of Metellus Celer. She numbered among her lovers Catullus, the poet, and Cicero's friend, Caelius.

3. in clamore ipso: *in the midst of the uproar*. **quis esset**, etc.: v. page 120, lines 6 ff.

11. ne quid in turba: sc. *pateremur* or *nobis accideret*. These ellipses are frequent in Cicero's letters, especially in graphic descriptive passages such as this.

23. me invito: Cicero was naturally unwilling to have Cato stir up any bad feeling between him and Pompey's adherents who were not welldisposed to Cicero (*malevolorum*).

26. descripsit: that is, referred to him in such a way as to leave no doubt as to who was meant, but did not mention him by name.

27. se munitiorem, etc.: This fear of personal danger no doubt accounts for the coming of the senate to Pompey rather than of Pompey to the senate, v. above, lines 17 f.

28. P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus was supposed to have been murdered at the instigation of the popular leader C. Carbo in 131 B.C.

Page 126. 1. The isolation of Pompey seems to be complete, even the senate being suspicious of him as triumvir.

6. In eo: that is, at the trial of Milo. **ipsius**: Clodius.

Letter 12. This letter of recommendation addressed to C. Julius Caesar in Gaul was written in behalf of the young C. Trebatius Testa, with whom Cicero was on very intimate terms, as his letters, *ad Fam.* VII. 6–22, show. Trebatius, who had followed the study of law at Rome and later under Augustus was a noted jurist (Horace *Sat.* II. 1), joined Caesar in Gaul and thereafter was his devoted follower.

9. te me esse alterum: cf. page 120, lines 23–24.

12. mecum ducere: Cicero was a legatus on Pompey's staff under the law giving Pompey complete power over the grain supply. Cf. Letter 9. His duties would probably have taken him abroad, and he had thought to take Trebatius with him. But some reason, which he hints at as not unknown to Caesar, changed his plans. It is impossible to determine whether he was influenced by his personal fear of Clodius or, more likely, by reasons of political prudence in the light of Pompey's isolated position and the growing jealousy among the triumvirs, which would naturally cause him to hesitate to ally himself too firmly with Pompey.

17. exspectare . . . sperasset: with Caesar, Trebatius was sure to obtain what he had been able only to hope for with Cicero.

18. prolixe: colloquial usage, instead of the neuter accusative of the adjective.

20. opinionis: that is, of Cicero's opinion of Caesar's attitude.

22. Balbo: L. Cornelius Balbus, born in Gades, and given Roman citizenship for his services against Sertorius. Cicero defended the validity of his enfranchisement in the oration, *Pro Balbo.*

24. M. Iteium: the text is corrupt here and the name as given represents a conjecture. Nothing is known of Iteius.

25. A Q. Lepta is mentioned in *ad Fam.* V. 20. 4 as a *praefectus fabrum* in Cicero's forces in Cilicia.

26. sustulimus manus: at the coincidence.

Page 127. **3. invitatu**: the word occurs only here.

7. illo vetere verbo meo: perhaps Cicero had called Milo a *bonus vir*. We have no knowledge of this incident.

11. familiam: *profession*.

12. It was customary for young men of station to begin their careers with military service in the capacity of *tribunus militum*, etc. For the results compare Caesar, *Bellum Gallicum*, I. 39. 2 and Tacitus' *Agricola*, 5.

15. Note the force of the diminutive *gloriolae*.

16. trado de manu . . . in manum: compare our expression "hand over."

18. putidiusculi: compare page 110, line 1. Cicero means that he is imposing on Caesar's generosity in asking him to do so much for a friend but knows it will be all right.

Letter 13. **21.** Caesar had probably consulted Trebatius in some legal matter and Cicero seizes the opportunity to jest with him about it.

Page 128. **2.** Cicero is particularly interested in his friend's progress toward the object of his expedition.

4. frigeas: perhaps this is a pun on the two meanings of *frigeas*, to be cold and to have a dull time. Note *calere* below. Trebatius had not taken the office of tribunus militum, and Cicero often speaks jestingly of his soldierly qualities. Mucius and Manilius were famous jurists.

10. andabata: blindfolded combatants on horses, a form of entertainment for the lower classes.

22. emolumento: the object of Trebatius' presence with Caesar.

24. attraham: account for the mood.

26. fratres nostri Haedui: the Aeduans had been called *fratres* by the Senate (Caesar, Bellum Gallicum, I, 33).

28. aut consolando, etc.: Terence, Heauton. I. 34.

Page 129. Letter 14. On May 10, 51 B.C. Cicero very unwillingly left Rome for the province which had been allotted to him under the

law of Pompey, **de iure magistratuum**. He had with him among others his brother Quintus, his son, and his nephew. Their route took them to Athens and from there, in order, to Ephesus, Tralles, and Laodicea. Cicero's province embraced Cilicia, Pisidia, Pamphylia, Cyprus, Isauria, Lycaonia and the region north of the Taurus Mountains. His predecessor in this province was Appius Claudius Pulcher, brother of Publius Clodius.

1. in ipso itinere et via: that is, *on the road*. *discedebant* and *eramus* are epistolary tenses.

3. mandati: to write frequently, at every opportunity. The *tabellarii*, messengers of the *publicani*, afforded an extra chance to send letters. Cicero's own official messengers would be called *statores*.

6. exspectatione: Cicero had no expectations. He refers here to the hopes which the populace had of his administration of their affairs.

9. ἐπικεφάλαια: *poll taxes*, levied probably on all members of the household, an extortion practiced by some governors of provinces.

10. ὠνάς: means either '*properties*' which had to be sold in order to pay the taxes or, more probably, the letting out of the collecting of the taxes to contractors who pursued the taxpayers with the greatest severity.

11. monstra: *evidences of outrageous acts.*

13. Levantur, etc.: Cicero even refused the customary services tendered to officials with the purpose of showing the provincials that he had their interests at heart. The *lex Julia* allowed governors when traveling to claim only limited amounts of certain commodities.

22. Appius: Cicero's predecessor.

24. forum agit: *is holding court.* **De Partho**: there were fears of a Parthian invasion.

26. Bibulus: the province of Syria had been allotted to Bibulus. The governor's year of service dated from the date of entry into the province.

Page 130. **3. tridui**: *sc. iter.*

Letter 15. Cicero has just captured Pindenissus, a mountain town of Cilicia. While realizing, and not without some humor, the trivial character of his conquest, he is still elated and excited over his success. In a more serious letter to Cato, asking for his aid in securing a *supplicatio* (see Letter 18), he gives his reasons for capturing the town as follows: *quod* (i.e. *oppidum*) *cum esset altissimo et munitis-*

simo loco ab iisque incoleretur, qui ne regibus quidem umquam paruissent, cum et fugitivos reciperent et Parthorum adventum acerrime exspectarent, ad existimationem imperii pertinere arbitratus sum comprimere eorum audaciam, quo facilius etiam ceterorum animi, qui alieni essent ab imperio nostro, frangerentur. Considered from this standpoint, the campaign was probably justified.

4. Saturnalibus: Dec. 17–19, a festival characterized by general merry-making, and the giving of presents. This letter was written on the third day of the festival; see page 132, line 3.

6. malum!: an interjection, "*the deuce!*"

8. Aetoliam: the scene of the exploits of Marcus Fulvius Nobilior in 189 B.C., celebrated by Ennius in his *Annales*. **Macedoniam**: conquered by Lucius Aemilius Paullus in 168 B.C. Cicero playfully suggests a parallel between these two famous generals and himself.

10. ἐν ἐπιτομῇ: *in abridged form.*

11. Ephesum: he had landed here in July on his way from Athens to the province, and met with an enthusiastic reception from all classes, which gratified him greatly; see *Epistulae ad Atticum* V 13.

ut: = *quo modo.*

16. revellimus: *did away with, removed.*

18. Iconii: the principal city of the district of Lycaonia, and one of the places visited by St. Paul; see Acts XIV. Under the name of Konia, it is still an important place.

19. gravius: *more impressive.* Cicero is no less proud of his administration of justice than of his exploits as a general.

20. castra: the two legions stationed in the province were encamped near Iconium, awaiting the arrival of the new governor. A *lustratio exercitus*, or ceremonial expiation of sin and entreaty for the pardon and aid of the gods, was usually performed by the commander before starting on a campaign.

21. apud Iconium: What is the difference in meaning between this expression and *Iconi*?

22. in Ciliciam: *on my way to Cilicia.*

24. Artavasdes: the King of Armenia, formerly in alliance with Rome, but at this time on friendly terms with the King of the Parthians. It was feared that he might aid the Parthians in a plan to cross the Euphrates from Armenia into Cappadocia.

Page 131. **3. per Tauri pylas**: the so-called Cilician gates, a narrow pass in the Taurus range, through which ran the main route

from western Asia Minor into Cilicia. It is described briefly by Xenophon, *Anab.* I. 2, 21.

4. Amanum: the Amanus is a section of the Taurus Mountains, running in a northeasterly direction from the Mediterranean toward the Euphrates. It formed the boundary between Cilicia and Syria.

8. Pomptini: Pomptinus was Cicero's legate, and a man who apparently had some real knowledge of warfare.

9. Imperatores appellati sumus: the "editorial plural." The title was conferred on the battlefield by the soldiers, and its bestowal indicated that a considerable victory had been won, although in the absence of any rule determining the extent of the victory to be followed by such an acclamation, the title was doubtless often won cheaply. In a letter to Marcus Caelius Rufus (*Epistulae ad Familiares* II 10) Cicero writes that the acclamation took place at Issus, the scene of Alexander's victory over Darius.

13, 14. πανικά, τὰ κενὰ τοῦ πολέμου: *an unreasoned flight, the groundless rumors of war.* Cicero seems to be modestly disclaiming any share that his campaign in the Amanus might have had in bringing about the sudden withdrawal of the Parthians from Antioch. In his letters to Caelius and to Cato he says plainly that on his arrival in the Amanus district he learned that they had already been forced to withdraw.

14. Cassio: Gaius Cassius Longinus had been a legate of Crassus, and had succeeded in saving a portion of the Roman army after the disaster at Carrhae. He was now acting-governor of Syria pending the arrival of Bibulus. He was afterwards famous as one of the leaders of the conspiracy against Julius Caesar.

20. appellatione hac inani: the title of *imperator.* This depreciatory attitude is not altogether sincere, for Cicero was evidently quite proud of the title, and used it regularly in his more formal letters.

21. loreolam in mustaceo: the *mustaceus* was a kind of cake which contained laurel leaves. Consequently the expression means "to get laurels easily."

23. nobilem sui generis: the meaning is not clear. The expression may mean "a famous man of his own class (i.e. the centurions)"; or, if *sui generis* is taken separately it may mean "one of his (i.e. Bibulus') own kind," an aristocrat. There is no reason to suppose that Cicero is sneering at Bibulus in connection with the death of this centurion.

26. odiosam: *mortifying.*

28. omnium: construe with *memoria.*

Page 132. **manciplis**: *mancipium* as used here does not have its usual meaning of formal sale (*manu* + *capere*), but denotes a slave obtained by such a sale.

3. venibant: What is the difference in meaning between this word and *veniebant?* The imperfect is used here and in the next two sentences instead of the present.

4. res: *sum realized by the sale.*

5. Quinto: Quintus Cicero was one of his brother's legates, and, on account of his experience in Caesar's wars in Gaul, was well qualified to take command of the army.

8. pluris: A. 417. B. 203, 3.

9. μώμῳ: *critic.* Mōmos is in Greek mythology the personification of carping criticism. It is not clear who is meant here, because of the uncertainty as to the meaning of *Ligurino.* The severest critic of Cicero's acquaintance was Cato, and the allusion in the next sentence to the doctrines of the Stoics suggests that it is indeed Cato to whom Cicero is alluding. The Ligurians were known as a simple, hardy folk, and the adjective might well be applied to the Stoic Cato. Moreover his influence in the Senate was great at this time; and Cicero was desirous of securing his approval. **moriar**: subjunctive of wish, a colloquial expression like our "I'll be hanged if, etc."

10. elegantius: *more scrupulously honest*, i.e. than his administration of Cilicia.

11. quae virtus . . . videtur: the Stoics held that there was necessarily a conflict between the virtue of self-restraint and the natural inclinations. Cicero maintains that his very uprightness was such a source of pleasure that it could not be regarded as such a virtue.

15. tanti: see note on line 8.

16. πεφύσημαι: *I am swollen with pride.*

17. λαμπρά: *a brilliant record.* Cicero naïvely confesses the satisfaction that he feels in considering the excellence of his administration. **Ariobarzānes**: the King of Cappadocia. His mother, Athenais, and Archelaos, the high-priest of the temple at Comana in Pontus, had plotted to overthrow him, and set up his younger brother as king. Cicero learned of the plot and frustrated it by recalling two of the young king's faithful counselors whom Athenais had exiled. Ariobarzanes had been entrusted to Cicero's especial care by the

Senate, not so much out of regard for him personally, as because he owed money to prominent Romans, notably Pompey and Marcus Brutus, afterwards the murderer of Caesar.

18. ἐν παρόδῳ: *en route.*

19. ἀπρόσιτον: *inaccessible.* **ἀδωροδόκητον**: *not open to bribes.*

20. ne pilum quidem: sc. *accepi;* "not the value of a hair."

21. excitavi: i.e. by restoring Ariobarzanes to his throne and to prospective solvency.

23. terruncium: the *terruncius* or quarter-*as*, also called quadrans, was the smallest copper coin minted. *Sumptus* is genitive.

25. publice: *officially.* Two such letters, written in September, 51 B.C., and addressed to the magistrates and Senate, are included in Cicero's correspondence (*Epistulae ad Familiares*, XV, 1 and 2). The letter here planned is not in existence.

27. fore: A. 462. B. 334. **est totum**: *all depends.* **Kalendis Martiis**: on March 1, 50, the Senate was to discuss the provincial appointments for 49. It was feared that Caesar would refuse to give up his province of Gaul (see note to page 134, line 24), and Pompey had hinted that in this case he would regard him as an open enemy. Cicero, who in connection with this contingency seems to have been thinking only of its effect on himself, was afraid that a rupture between the two generals might in some way cause a prolongation of his stay in Cilicia; this he was most anxious to avoid.

31. iucundissimis litteris: *most welcome letter.* This was received by Cicero, if the reading of the manuscripts is correct, on Dec. 26, and the remainder of this letter to Atticus is accordingly a sort of postscript to the main portion of the letter, written on Dec. 19.

Page 133. **5. salvi**: i.e. safe from a prolongation of his governorship. **Incendio Plaetoriano**: *Plaetorius' crash.* Plaetorius had been praetor in 66 B.C. Whether *incendium* refers to some condemnation in court or to some financial difficulty is not clear.

8. Quinto: the son of Cicero's brother Quintus and Pomponia, Atticus' sister.

9. togam puram: the *toga virilis*, as distinguished from the *toga praetexta*, which boys wore until they reached manhood.

10. Deiotarus: King of Galatia. He was a protégé of Pompey's, and a firm ally of Rome. His relations with Cicero had been most friendly, and he had offered the services of his army when the Parthian invasion seemed imminent. He afterwards incurred Caesar's dis-

pleasure by siding with Pompey in the Civil War, and Cicero plead for him in the extant *Oratio pro Rege Deiotaro*.

11. Ciceronibus: Young Quintus and Cicero's own son, Marcus.

12. Epiroticas: i.e. written from Atticus' estate at Buthrōtum in Epirus.

14. litteris publicis: *official report;* see note to page 132, line 25.

18. meus . . . Alexis: Cicero's freedman and secretary Tiro, who stood in the same relation to him as Alexis did to Atticus.

19. Κέρας: *a cornet;* Phemius, a musical slave of Atticus.

20. Romam: sc. *ire*.

21. Thermo: Thermus was governor of the province of Asia.

21, 22. et praesens Ephesi . . . et nunc per litteras: i.e. while stopping at Ephesus on his way to Cilicia and afterwards by a letter of recommendation. Several such letters of introduction written by Cicero to Thermus have been preserved, but the one written for Atticus is not among them.

22. ipsumque: *que* connects *commendaram* and *intellexi*.

24. Pammeni: Pammenes was a famous orator, a native of Athens.

Page 134. **Letter 16.** Marcus Caelius Rufus was a rising young orator and politician. He was about 35 years old at this time, and some 20 years previously had been brought by his father to Cicero with the request that the great orator allow the boy to attach himself to him and to study the principles of law and oratory as practiced by him. Cicero seems to have taken an especial interest in his young protégé, and to have formed a warm affection for him which developed into real friendship. The young man's ability soon made him conspicuous in the legal world, and he achieved considerable reputation by accusing Gaius Antonius (see Letter 2) of extortion in the province of Macedonia. The speech which he delivered in this prosecution seems to have been somewhat scandalous, but lively and vigorous; a fragment of it is preserved in Quintilian, *Institutio Rhetorica*, IV, 2, 123. He also became well known in society as the lover of the beautiful and notorious Clodia, the sister of Publius Clodius. The two had had a violent quarrel seven years before this time, and Clodia had accused Caelius of planning to poison her. He was defended by Cicero in a clever and interesting speech (the *Oratio pro M. Caelio*), and acquitted. Caelius' letters to Cicero have been preserved to the number of 17. Of these all but three were written to Cicero while in Cilicia. Many of Cicero's replies are also extant. Caelius' letters show that he

was well informed about what was going on in the political and the social world at Rome, and his keen and witty observations make his letters exceedingly interesting. When the Civil War between Caesar and Pompey broke out in 49 B.C., Caelius joined the former, and tried to keep Cicero from allying himself with Pompey; see Letter 29.

For an interesting account of the life and character of Caelius, see Boissier, *Cicéron et ses Amis*.

2. opera: *attention.* **sic . . . ut verear**: the sentence is illogical. Caelius does not mean to say that he provided some one to relate everything so fully that he feared, etc., but that he had provided some one to relate, and the latter had done it so fully that he feared, etc.

3. arguta: *long-winded.*

6. rerum: construe with *certiores;* A. 349, a. B. 204, 1.

7. adrogantiae: A. 352. B. 208, 2.

8. non quin . . . sit: *not that it is not.* The construction is similar to that which follows a negatived causal clause introduced by *non quod* or *non quia;* see A. 540, 2, note 3. B. 286, 1, b.

10. tuae memoriae: *tuae* is for the objective genitive: *my memory of you.*

11. misi: probably used instead of the present.

12. quoius: *Quoius* is an old form for *cuius* and is often used in colloquial language. The corresponding dative is *quoi.* **otii**: A. 343, c. B. 198, 3.

15. impensa mea: *expense to myself.*

16. in re publica: *in the political world.*

17. operarii: *sons of toil;* a jesting allusion to the size of the undertaking.

21. rumores de comitiis transpadanorum: a rumor that the inhabitants of the region north of the river Po (Padus) were to be granted a sort of "home-rule," in so far as the various towns were to be permitted to elect their own magistrates. Cicero had heard this rumor when in Campania on the way to Cilicia; see *Epistulae ad Atticum*, V, 2. The project for granting Roman citizenship and local independence to the northern Italians was Caesar's, and was actually accomplished two years later. See Reid, *The Municipalities of the Roman Empire*, p. 125.

23. Marcellus: Marcus Claudius Marcellus, consul in 51 B.C., a violent opponent of Caesar.

24. nihil rettulit: *made no proposal.* **de successione provinciarum Galliarum**: Caesar's term as governor of the provinces of

Gaul was to expire in March, 49 B.C. His political opponents were anxious to have him return to Rome as soon as it was legally possible to compel him to do so, apparently hoping to bring him to trial on some charge before he could secure an election to the consulship for 48 B.C. They were therefore making plans to send a successor to take over the command of his provinces as soon as his term should expire.

26. expressit: *called forth.*

27. Pompeium: Pompey was at Tarentum, not far from Brundisium, from which Cicero sailed to Greece on his way to Cilicia. Cicero spent three days with Pompey at Tarentum, discussing the political situation; see *Epistulae ad Atticum*, V, 6 and 7.

Page 135. **1. offendisti**: used here with the ordinary meaning of this verb, which does not properly mean *to offend.*

3. neque tantum valere ingenio: Caelius was no respecter of persons, and never thought highly of Pompey.

4. ad Caesarem: sc. *pertinet.*

5. susurratores: *whisperers.*

6. alius equitem perdidisse, etc.: the story of Caesar's campaign against the Bellovaci, who lived immediately north of the Seine in the neighborhood of the modern city of Beauvais, is told by Hirtius in Caesar's *de Bello Gallico*, VIII, 6 f. An engagement is described in which the cavalry of the Remi, who were Caesar's allies, were badly defeated by the Bellovaci, and this was followed by a series of cavalry skirmishes in which the Romans seem to have suffered quite as much as the Gauls. The losses incurred in this way may have given rise to the rumor that all the cavalry had been destroyed. On the other hand, no event is described in Hirtius' narrative which could occasion the other rumors.

7. vapulasse: *have been licked.* The verb is regularly used in colloquial language.

10. palam secreto: *as an open secret.*

11. Domitius: probably Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus, afterwards one of Pompey's generals in the Civil War, and forced to surrender to Caesar at Corfinium; see Letter 23. He had been for some time an enemy of Caesar's, and was now spreading the rumor of his defeats with an air of mystery.

12. subrostrani: *the loungers about the rostra.*

13. Q. Pompeio: Quintus Pompeius Rufus had been an intimate friend of Clodius. He was one of the leaders of the mob which burned

Clodius' body in the Senate house, for which he was tried and condemned to banishment from Rome. He was living in exile at Bauli in Campania.

14. scirem: A. 535, e. B. 283, 3. **embaeneticam facere**: *is undergoing a diet-cure.* The physicians of the time were mostly Greeks and technical medical terms were accordingly Greek. This is a jesting allusion to Pompeius' poverty. Caelius' sympathy for Pompeius did, however, take a practical form, for he brought suit against his mother to compel her to turn over to her son some estates which she had been holding in trust for him and had refused to give him.

16. hoc mendacio: *by means of this lie.* This ablative is not governed by *defungeremur.*

17. Plancus . . . tuus: *tuus* is ironical. Titus Munatius Plancus was associated with Pompeius Rufus in his acts of violence, and was similarly condemned. The place of his exile was Ravenna.

18. congiario: *gratuity.*

19. Tui politici libri: *Your book on The State.* This is Cicero's *De Republica Libri VI*, a work dealing with the Roman Constitution, and probably the most important of his philosophical writings. Unfortunately a large part of it has been lost.

Letter 17. **21. istinc**: from Cilicia.

23. hunc risum meum: *my present merriment;* probably an allusion to the amusement which he felt at his election to the aedileship, and which he expresses frequently in his letters, e.g. *Epistulae ad Familiares*, VIII, 8, 1.

25. tabellario: *letter-carrier.*

25, 26. dedi, dederam: used for the present and perfect.

Page 136. **1. Orestillae**: she had been Catiline's wife. Sallust says of her: *cuius praeter formam nihil umquam bonus laudavit* (*Cat.* 15). The daughter mentioned here was probably the child of her previous husband.

3. D. Bruto: Decimus Junius Brutus, Caesar's legate, and afterwards one of his murderers.

5. moechum: *a Don Juan.*

7. vellem: A. 447, 1, note.

8. quod . . . quaeras: A. 531, 2. B. 282, 2. In one of his letters to Caelius, Cicero complains that the latter has not sent him enough information about this scandal.

Letter 18. Marcus Porcius Cato was the great-grandson of the famous Cato the Censor, and was very proud of the fact. At this time he was about 45 years old, and for some years had been prominent in politics. He was an extreme conservative; on every occasion he took a stand for the rights of the Senate, and uncompromisingly opposed any infringement of its powers, even to the extent of alienating the *Equites* who might otherwise have supported the Senate against its democratic opponents. He opposed the policies of the Triumvirs so consistently that, in the year in which they had Cicero exiled, they got rid of him by sending him to Cyprus to take over the island and the treasures which had been bequeathed to Rome by the deceased king, Ptolemy Alexander. After Caesar left Rome for Gaul and Pompey gradually identified himself with the Senate's opposition to Caesar, Cato's influence increased greatly, and at the time of this letter he was one of the leaders of the conservative party. Subsequently, in the Civil War he was one of the most trusted generals of Pompey, and after the latter's defeat and death, he went with other uncompromising opponents of Caesar to Africa in the hope of forming an army strong enough to maintain the constitutional government. Such hopes were crushed by Caesar's victory at Thapsus in 46, and thereupon Cato, steadfastly refusing to submit to his political enemy, committed suicide at Utica.

For a vivid, but rather unfavorable, estimate of Cato see Mommsen, *History of Rome*, Book V, chap. 3.

The stiff and almost pedantic style of this letter is just what one would expect of the writer. The first few sentences, particularly, are constructed with a precision that is almost painful, containing, as they do, first the main idea, then various elaborations of it with subordinate ideas, and finally the verb.

Cicero had written to Cato (*Epistulae ad Familiares*, XV, 4) telling him of his achievements in Cilicia, and asking him to propose to the Senate to recognize Cicero's services to the state by decreeing a *supplicatio*, or solemn procession of all the citizens to the various temples in the city for the purpose of offering sacrifices and praise to the gods. Such thanksgiving ceremonies were frequently ordered after notable victories. Cato made a speech that was highly complimentary to Cicero, and seems to have made some sort of a motion tendering him a vote of thanks, but he refrained from proposing the *supplicatio*.

10. quod . . . me . . . hortatur: the use of two accusatives with *hortor* is on the analogy of such a construction with *rogo*, etc.;

see A. 396; B. 178, 1. This usage is not uncommon in earlier and colloquial Latin, such as the Comedies of Terence, but the expression *quod te iam dudum hortor* is found in Cicero, *in Catilinam Oratio*, I, chap. 5.

11. ut . . . gaudeam: in apposition with *quod;* see A. 563. B. 295, 1. **virtutem,** etc. . . . **administrari**: the use of *administrare* with such abstract qualities is not found anywhere else, and the expression appears illogical. It seems to mean that these qualities, observed in Cicero's achievements at home, have been *carried on* abroad also.

12. togati, armati: genitives. With what do they agree?

13. pro meo iudicio: *consistently with my principles.*

14. defensam, servatum, revocatam: in each of these expressions the main idea is in the participle, and not in the noun with which it is associated.

16. sententia et decreto: *speech and motion.*

18. nihil fortuito . . . rei publicae provisum est: the words *fortuito* and *provisum est* contradict each other. The writer does not seem to have thought out clearly what he wanted to say, but has confused two ideas *nihil fortuito factum est* and *omnia . . . rei publicae provisa sunt.* For the construction of *rei publicae* see A. 376; B. 188, 1. **ratione**: *foresight.*

20. tibi referre acceptum: *to put down to your credit*, a banking term; see page 110, line 24 and note. **quodsi**, etc.: it is altogether characteristic of Cato to say that he had not proposed the *supplicatio*, and to add in this blunt fashion that Cicero need not feel too confident of a triumph.

21. praerogativam: *a guarantee.* The *centuria praerogativa* was the century which voted first in the comitia, and its vote was usually regarded as a reliable indication of the way in which the whole assembly would vote. **casum . . . laudari**: the use of this expression to refer to a ceremony in which thanks were rendered with great solemnity to the gods is quite characteristic of the religious attitude of many men of the time.

22. sequitur: this verb is *grammatically* the apodosis of the clause *si . . . mavis*, but *logically* it should depend on some expression like *scito.*

23. clarius: *more complimentary.* **est**: the subject is *senatum iudicare*, etc.

Page 137. 2. **scripsi**: used for the present.

3, 4. **et . . . et**: *both . . . and.*

4. **amplissimum**: *most honorable.*

6. **praesta**: from *praesto.*

Letter 19. Cicero's reply to Letter 18.

7. **Laetus sum**: a trochaic line from the *Hector Proficiscens* of Naevius. Cicero quotes it in another letter (*Epistulae ad Familiares*, V, 12), and also in his *Tusculanae Disputationes*, IV, 67. The insertion of *opinor* is therefore only an affectation, and due apparently to the fear (which is not uncommon nowadays) of seeming to know too much.

10. **Ego vero**: strictly the subject of the relative clause, but thrown out of its clause in order to give it greater emphasis. Cicero frequently uses this expression at the beginning of a letter to introduce the answer to a remark or question in a letter to which he is replying. This seems to be the sense in which it is used here: *yes, indeed, there is nothing which*, etc. **gratulatione litterarum tuarum**: *the compliment contained in your letter.*

13. **quod liquido veritati dares**: *what with a clear conscience you could grant in the interests of truth. Liquido* is used in this same sense in Terence, *Andria*, 729. The clause seems to suggest that Cicero would have liked Cato to stretch the truth a little.

14. **si non modo omnes, verum etiam multi**: *even if, I will not say all, but at least many.*

16. **tua laudatione**: *your eulogy of me.*

17. **ad**: *according to.* **illud sincerum ac subtile**: *a really frank and unbiased.*

18. **laudabilius**: not used in the ordinary sense of *praiseworthy*, but with the meaning of *laudatory.*

20. **voluntatis**: his wish for a triumph.

21. **superioribus litteris**: see *Epistulae ad Familiares*, XV, 4, 13–14, where he confesses to Cato that ever since his exile he has been anxious to obtain as many honors as possible in order to regain his former prestige. **quae**: the antecedent is *voluntas.*

22. **rationem**: *aspect.*

25. **usitato**: in the previous year, Lentulus Spinther, the predecessor of Appius Claudius Pulcher in the governorship of Cilicia, had been granted a triumph in recognition of his military achievements, which were probably no greater than Cicero's.

Page 138. 5. quod scribendo adfuisti: refers to *res ipsa*. Cato was one of the committee appointed to draw up the *Senatus consultum* in proper legal form. Every *Senatus consultum* contained the full names of the members of the committee preceded by the technical phrase *scribendo adfuerunt*.

8. re publica meliore: *with public affairs in better condition.* **quam timeo**: on his return he found that his fears were fully realized; see Letter 29.

This letter to Cato is more polite than sincere. A franker expression of Cicero's feelings is found in a letter to Atticus (VII 2, 7): *qui (Cato) in me turpiter malevolus. Dedit integritatis iustitiae clementiae fidei mihi testimonium, quod non quaerebam; quod postulabam, negavit. . . . At hic idem Bibulo dierum viginti* (sc. *supplicationem decrevit*). Bibulus was Cato's son-in-law.

Letter 20. 9. Dionysium: Dionysius was a freedman of Atticus. He had been well educated and was a man of real refinement. Cicero enjoyed his society and took him with him to Cilicia, apparently as a tutor for young Marcus and his cousin Quintus. The boys thought that he had a hot temper; see *Epistulae ad Atticum* VI 1, 12. **misi**: perfect used instead of present. Dionysius took the letter with him; he arrived in Rome on Dec. 16; see *Epistulae ad Atticum* VII 7, 1.

12. frugi: *steady.*

14. Pompeium: Pompey was at Naples. At the time when Cicero saw him he was expecting that the Senate would adopt a proposal to be made by the Consul, Gaius Marcellus, declaring Caesar a public enemy and ordering Pompey to take command of two legions stationed at Luceria in Apulia about 100 miles northeast of Naples; it was doubtless this fact that made him speak of war as inevitable. A few days later Marcellus and other adherents of Pompey arrived with the news that the proposal had been vetoed by Caesar's friend, the tribune Curio. Marcellus, however, urged Pompey to put himself at the head of the legions, and he finally consented to go to Luceria and take the command. This step seemed to be an open act of hostility to Caesar, and certain to precipitate the war; it provoked general criticism; *hoc iter Pompeii vituperarent* wrote Cicero, *Epistulae ad Atticum* VII 5, 4.

16. hortari, suscipere, monere: these infinitives are perhaps to be construed with *visus est*, suggesting that Pompey was not sincere in his professions. However, it seems more logical to regard them as

historical infinitives. **suscipere partes suas**: *assumed his share*, i.e. of the intrigues necessary to procure the passage of the proposition.

19. officio sermonis: i.e. services consisting of words. The genitive is used instead of a noun in apposition; see A. 343, d. B. 202. **nihil**: *no one*.

20. prolixius: *more generous*.

22. illum: Caesar; he was then in Cisalpine Gaul. **alienatum**: *estranged*.

25. Vesperi: an example of the locative case which is preserved in a few commonly used nouns; see A. 50, b and 427, a. B. 232, 2. **Balbus**: Lucius Cornelius Balbus was a devoted adherent of Caesar's and was acting as his agent in Rome. **constituisset**: *had made an appointment*.

26. Scipionem: Scipio was Pompey's father-in-law.

Page 139. **1.** τεκμηριώδες: *a positive proof*.

3. inimici: sc. *dederint*, i.e. *concede*. Cicero did not yet know of the plan to declare Caesar a public enemy, and could not believe that war was imminent.

5. in discrimen adducat: *expose to danger*.

6. ruere: *break loose*. **ne**: this has no connection with *ne*—*lest*, but is a transliteration of the Greek ναί (*nae*), the asseverative particle meaning *truly* or *certainly*.

Letter 21. This letter is of great interest, containing, as it does, an enumeration of the various possibilities that suggested themselves to Cicero as solutions of the immediate political situation. The letter was written only a few days after a long interview with Pompey at Formiae in southern Latium, and probably represents Pompey's summing-up of the situation. Immediately after this interview Cicero wrote to Atticus that Pompey had not shown any desire for a reconciliation with Caesar; see *Epistulae ad Atticum* VII, 8. It is noteworthy that Cicero does not include among these possibilities the proposal made to the Senate by Caesar's agent Curio that Caesar and Pompey should resign their commands simultaneously. This had been passed by the Senate on Dec. 1, but Pompey had ignored the order, and was evidently refusing to consider such an action as among the possibilities. As a matter of fact, however, just this compromise was offered as an ultimatum by Caesar on Jan. 1, 49, but the consuls refused to allow the proposition to come to a vote.

11. unas: sc. *litteras*. Why is the plural used? **mihi a te non esse redditas**: *was not received.*

12. quas . . . cum ferret: there is a similar construction in page 140, line 20, *et, quod si ille faciat.* The relative is used as object of the dependent clause instead of a demonstrative.

13. bustum Basili: the tomb of Basilus was on the Via Appia not far from the city. The locality is said to have had a bad reputation on account of robberies.

15. hoc διανκρινήσεις πρόβλημα sane πολιτικόν: *you will discuss this question, assuredly one that involves politics.* In the long and involved sentence that follows, the last clause, *quod . . . putes*, depends on this statement. Almost all that intervenes depends on the causal clause *cum sit necesse.* Cicero enumerates five possibilities: *haberi Caesaris rationem; persuaderi Caesari ut tradat provinciam*, etc.; *haberi comitia sine illius ratione; rem adduci ad interregnum; armis cum eo contendere.* He then discusses, in the event that the last possibility is realized, *when* the attack will be made, *under what pretext*, and finally, what is the proper policy to be used in the campaign against Caesar.

16. haberi rationem: *habere rationem* means *to take account;* in this connection, *to recognize the candidacy.* Caesar felt confident of his election, could he but succeed in having his name formally proposed. According to law the candidate must be in Rome and present his name in person, and Caesar could not do this without resigning his command. Caesar had, it is true, been especially exempted from this regulation by a bill passed, apparently with Pompey's consent, in 52. However, a subsequent law had reënacted the earlier principle, without recognizing any exemptions; on complaint made by Caesar, a clause repeating the exemption granted to him was appended to the law, but it was never formally voted upon by the Assembly, and so could not be considered legally binding. **vel per senatum vel per tribunos pl.**: i.e. either by decree of the Senate authorizing him to retain his command, or by action of Caesar's supporters in the board of Tribunes who would veto any proposition to send out a successor.

17. ut tradat provinciam, etc.: this was the solution that Cicero expected Atticus to approve; see page 140, line 7. These terms were actually offered by Caesar, but on the condition that Pompey disband his forces in Italy and go to Spain; see *Epistulae ad Familiares* XVI, 12, 3. Cicero urged Pompey to accept them, but the influence of the uncompromising opponents of Caesar was too strong; see *Epistulae ad Familiares* VI, 6, 5–6.

19. illo patiente: *with his consent.*

21. si . . . non patiatur, tamen quiescat; i.e. cause his supporters among the tribunes to veto the calling of an assembly for purposes of election, but make no further move. **interregnum**: there had been an interregnum lasting over six months in 53.

25. ut e lege ratio habeatur: after an attempt should be made to legalize the recognition of Caesar's candidacy during his absence.

Page 140. **1. impediens**: i.e. using his power of veto. **notatus**: *censured.*

2. circumscriptus: *restricted;* i.e. by refusal on the part of the Senate to observe the constitutional veto-power of the tribune. **sublatus**: *suspended.*

3. ad illum confugerit: this actually happened a few days later, when on Jan. 7, 49, the tribunes Antony and Cassius fled to Caesar, alleging that they could not safely remain in Rome.

4. tenenda sit: depending on *cum* in page 139, line 15, and independent of *sit necesse.*

7. persuaderi illi: sc. *minimum horum malorum esse.*

8. omnino: *to be sure.* **eo descendat**: *assent to such a proposition.*

9. si non obtinet: *if he is not successful.*

14. aliquis: Pompey.

15. volet: sc. Caesar.

17. quid: sc. *eum valiturum esse;* cf. *quid quid valebo, Epistulae ad Familiares* VI, 6, 13. For the construction of *quid* see A. 390, c and 397, a. B. 176, 2.

19. si quidem: *inasmuch as.* **id ipsum**: i.e. permission to become a candidate for the consulship, on the condition that he resign his military command.

21. tollamus: *let us eliminate.*

23. idem: Pompey.

26. libidinis: *arbitrary power.*

28. nostram: sc. *rationem.* There is a play on the literal meaning of the phrase *habere rationem* and the technical sense in which it is used in line 16, page 139.

30. idem: Pompey.

32. casu: the opponents of Caesar did indeed make no very definite plan for opposing him, except to levy troops all over Italy, thereby

deserting Rome and leaving the city to its fate. **situm est**: *depends on.*

Page 141. Letter 22. After Pompey and the consuls had left Rome for Southern Italy as Caesar advanced from the north, Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus (see Letter 16) with a force of about 10,000 men proceeded to hold the town of Corfinium in Central Italy. When Caesar marched toward the town with an army of about 40,000, Domitius, who was of course utterly unable to stand a siege against such odds, sent to Pompey to ask for aid; see Letter 23. This letter is interesting as showing Cicero's utter lack of confidence in Pompey as a leader, and the scorn which he felt for the weakness shown in abandoning Rome and Italy to Caesar.

3. amico nostro: Pompey. **ad omne dedecus**: *to complete the shame.* **Domitio**: why dative? **ut . . . non subveniat**: A. 570. B. 297, 3.

6. cohortes triginta: about 15,000 men.

9. Ego vero, etc: *Yes*, etc.; see note to page 137, line 10.

10. Quod . . . meum, etc.: *as to that statement of mine which*, etc. The expression is in loose apposition with *quod dixerim me malle*, etc.

11. quod dixerim: for the use of *quod* see A. 572, B. 299, 1. The subjunctive is probably due to implied indirect discourse after *laudas.*

15. nostra tradidit: *betrayed our cause.*

16. contigit: sc. *mihi; my wish has been fulfilled.*

16, 17. ista, istum: Caesar's success, and Caesar himself. In spite of Cicero's contempt for Pompey's actions, he cannot bring himself to submit to Caesar.

18. mihi: to be construed with *carendum est.*

19. memet ipso: *my true self*, i.e. his traditions and ideals.

20. Philotimum: A freedman who seems to have been acting as a sort of financial agent for Cicero at this time; he is also mentioned in *Epistulae ad Atticum* X, 5, 3. Terentia had a dishonest steward of the same name. **viatico**: *traveling-expenses.* **Moneta**: *the mint.* It was in the temple of Juno Moneta which was on the *Arx*, one of the peaks of the Capitoline Hill. **nemo**: i.e. none of those who owed money to Cicero.

21. Oppiis: the Oppii were money-lenders. They are jestingly referred to as "pals" of Atticus, because he too had often advanced large sums of money to various politicians.

22. apposita: *necessary preparations.*

Page 142. Letter 23. This letter shows that Cicero's opinion, as expressed in Letter 22, that Pompey would leave Domitius to his fate, was well founded. Pompey had, in fact, ordered Domitius to evacuate Corfinium and join him, in order that their combined forces might operate against Caesar. The obstinate Domitius had not obeyed the summons, and it was now too late for him to get away from Corfinium. On the receipt of this letter, realizing that he was in a desperate position, he planned to abandon his army, and escape alone. However, his soldiers discovered his intentions, and seizing him, surrendered both him and themselves to Caesar. Caesar, following his usual policy, sent away Domitius and his staff unharmed, and enrolled the soldiers in his army. See Caesar, *de Bello Civili*, I, 19 f.

1. mihi a te redditae sunt: see note to page 139, line 11.

2. apud Corfinium: What is the difference between this and *Corfinii*?

3. ut . . . velit . . . implicet: see A. 570. B. 297, 3.

4. implicet: *envelop.* Pompey is using the word as a technical military term.

5. ne: construe both with *expeditum sit* and *possis.*

6. cum iis legionibus: the two legions which Pompey had with him at Luceria had previously been in Caesar's army, and had been ordered back to Italy by the Senate, on the pretext that they were to be used in a war against the Parthians. There was every reason to suppose that they might desert Pompey for Caesar.

9. voluntate: see A. 431. B. 219, 1.

10. ut . . . dimicem: *to stake on a battle.*

11. consulibus: dative; see A. 376. B. 188.

13. te explices: *extricate yourself.*

14. adversarium: i.e. Caesar. He is regularly referred to thus in Pompey's letters. **conveniant**: What is the difference in meaning between the indicative and the subjunctive? See A. 551, b and c. B. 291 and 292.

15. si convenirent: *even if they were concentrating.* After this protasis one would expect an apodosis in the imperfect subjunctive, but the apodosis is regarded as a fact, and accordingly the indicative is used.

17. non te praeterit: *you are well aware.*

Letter 24. Cicero expresses his disappointment in Pompey, who, he had hoped, would prove to be the model statesman that he had depicted in his work on the ideal constitution. He now sees that

Pompey, as well as Caesar, is striving solely for personal power, and that neither has any patriotic ideal. He believes that a reconciliation between them is still possible but neither wants it.

18. quod . . . putas: see A. 572, a. B. 299, 2.

19. equidem: *certainly.*

20. constitit consilium: *a resolve has been taken.*

21. nihil explicatur: *no solution is reached.*

Page 143. **3. nostris libris**: the work entitled de Republica Libri VI, written 54–51 B.C., a dialogue in which several Roman statesmen of the second century are represented as discussing the ideal Constitution. Scipio Aemilianus, the conqueror of Carthage and Numantia, is the chief speaker.

4. moderatorem illum: subject of *referre.*

5. quo: *by what standard.* **referre**: *regulate.* **Velimus**: depends on *tenes . . . quo.* See A. 573. B. 300, 1, a.

8. proposita est: *is the end in view.*

13. utroque: Caesar and Pompey.

15. posset, pelleretur: see A. 540, note 3. B. 286, 1, b.

18. Sullani regni: a military dictatorship.

21. σκοπός: *purpose.*

Letter 25. Lucius Cornelius Balbus was a Spaniard from Cadiz. He had served in the Roman army in the war against Sertorius, first under Metellus Pius and then under Pompey. He was rewarded by the bestowal of Roman citizenship conferred on him by Pompey, apparently on the recommendation of Lucius Cornelius Lentulus Crus (see note to page 144, line 10), whose *praenomen* and *nomen* Balbus assumed. After this he made friends with Caesar, during the latter's term as *propraetor* in Spain. When the First Triumvirate was in power he made himself useful to Caesar both in Gaul and especially at Rome where he acted as the confidential agent of the governor of Gaul. In 56 the opponents of the triumvirs, attempting to get rid of this objectionable agent and at the same time injure the prestige of Pompey, raised the question of the validity of Balbus' citizenship, and tried to show that it had been illegally granted. Cicero defended his cause in a speech which is still extant, and won the case. At the beginning of the estrangement between Caesar and Pompey, the wily Balbus succeeded in keeping on good terms with both. As time went on, he was shrewd enough to see that Caesar would eventually get the upper hand, and accordingly attached himself more closely to him.

Nevertheless, when the Civil War broke out, he still felt himself on friendly terms with Pompey and Lentulus, and continued to act as their agent as well as Caesar's, thus keeping in with both sides.

Balbus' diplomatic talents and his ability to keep in with both sides made him peculiarly fitted to undertake such a mission as the one of persuading Cicero not to join Pompey against Caesar. Cicero, however, was never quite convinced of his sincerity, and suspected him of being not quite so disinterested as he tried to appear.

Gaius Oppius, who takes part in this correspondence, is always mentioned in connection with Balbus. He was similarly a subordinate of Caesar's and was similarly rewarded with positions of importance. He had pretensions to fame as a literary man, and wrote some biographies, including those of Pompey and Caesar.

23. S. V. B. See note to page 109, line 1. **litteras communes cum Oppio**: *Epistulae ad Atticum* IX, 7 A. This letter was written in answer to a letter of Cicero's asking for their opinion as to Caesar's probable policy and for their advice as to his own course. They assure him that they believe Caesar to be desirous of a reconciliation with Pompey, and urge him to remain neutral.

24. misi: perfect used for present. Caesar's letter is no. 26, addressed to Balbus and Oppius.

27. quod: object of *sentire*.

Page 144. 1. pietate: *loyalty*.

2. sustinere: *endure*.

3. eum: Pompey. **praedices**: from praedicare; for the subjunctive see A. 593. B. 324, 1.

4. exploratum . . . habeo: *I am convinced*. The compound perfect of the modern languages is a natural development from such compound forms as this which are quite common in colloquial Latin; see A. 497, b. B. 337, 6.

5. ei: construe with *satis facturum (esse)*; see A. 368, 2.

10. Lentulum: Lucius Cornelius Lentulus Crus, one of the consuls of the year 49, and one of the most violent of the opponents of Caesar. On the approach of Caesar he had left Rome hastily, neglecting even to secure the state treasure, and was now with Pompey at Brundisium.

11. togatus: *in civil garb*, i.e. taking no active part in the war.

14. procuro sustineo: *transact and keep up*.

17. ea mente: ablative of quality. See A. 415. B. 224.

18. Hac re: used instead of the more common *qua re*.

20. temporibus Milonianis: at the trial of Milo for the murder of Clodius in 52 B.C., public feeling ran so high that Pompey, who was then sole consul, appeared with a guard of soldiers to prevent rioting. Cicero defended Milo, but, according to Asconius, who wrote an excellent account of the whole trial, it was Milo's other advocate, Marcellus, and not Cicero, who, with Milo, petitioned for the guard. **Praestabo**: *I will give you a guarantee.*

24. ab: *out of.*

25. ita incolumi Caesare moriar!: *as I hope to die before Caesar* —i.e. be spared the grief of seeing him die,—an adjuration intended to inspire belief in what he goes on to say.

26. tanti: see A. 417. B. 203, 3. **aeque ac . . . caros**: *as dear as.*

27. non mediocriter laboro: *I am not a little concerned.*

Page 145. Letter 26. This is the letter inclosed in Letter 25. It is interesting as containing Caesar's own statement of the policy he intended to follow in dealing with Pompey and his followers.

2. apud Corfinium: see introductory note to Letter 23.

3. lubenter: *gladly.*

5. darem: construe with the preceding *facere . . . ut.*

7. uti: *enjoy.* **reliqui**: e.g. Marius.

9. L. Sullam, quem imitaturus non sum: It is interesting that Caesar here disclaims all intention of doing just what Cicero in his more discouraged moments accused Pompey of trying to do, establishing a military dictatorship by exterminating his opponents; see Letter 24.

14. Magium: Numerius Magius, who was a *praefectus fabrum*, or chief of a corps of engineers, in Pompey's army. He was captured soon after the surrender of Corfinium; see Caesar, *de Bello Civili*, I. 24. As a matter of fact, instead of actually setting him free, as he claims here, Caesar sent him to Pompey at Brundisium with a request for a personal conference. Pompey did not answer the request until Caesar arrived outside the walls of Brundisium; see *de Bello Civili* I, 26, and *Epistulae ad Atticum* IX, 13 A.

17. debebunt: *they will feel under obligation.*

18. iis: Caesar's opponents, such as Cato, Gaius Marcellus, consul in 50, who had proposed to Pompey to take command of the troops in Southern Italy (see Letter 20), his cousin Gaius Marcellus, consul in

the present year, and the latter's colleague Lucius Lentulus Crus (see Letter 25).

Letter 27. After Pompey and his army had slipped through Caesar's fingers at Brundisium and set sail for Epirus, Caesar wrote to Cicero telling him that he expected to be in Rome shortly, and asking him with great politeness for a personal interview; see *Epistulae ad Atticum*, IX, 6 A. Cicero replied with equal politeness but without committing himself, saying that he was well qualified as well as willing to act as peacemaker between Caesar and Pompey, but that he hoped that Caesar, particularly in view of his usual policy of tolerance, would permit him to remain in his present neutral position. Caesar's answer is here inclosed in a letter to Atticus.

22. dedi: perfect for present. **A. d. VI K.**: sc. *Apriles*.

23. Sinuessae: a town in Southern Latium on the Via Appia along which Caesar was marching toward Rome. It was less than 20 miles from Formiae, where Cicero was stopping. **mansurum (esse)**: *will halt.*

Page 146. **1, 2. opes, opem**: **opem**, *help; opes*, not *wealth*, as ordinarily, but *influence.*

6. auguraris: *surmise.*

9. triumpho: *I exult.* The expression *triumphare gaudio* is exaggerated. Cicero uses it in a similar way in his *Oratio pro Aulo Cluentio*, § 14. **gaudio**: see A. 404, a. B. 219, 1. **ii . . . discessisse dicuntur**: especially Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus (see Letter 23).

11. mei similem esse: *to be consistent.*

14. Dolabella: Cicero's son-in-law, an ardent adherent of Caesar's.

14. hanc . . . gratiam: *gratitude for this* (i.e. for helping to bring about a meeting with Cicero).

The interview actually took place three or four days later, and is described in a letter to Atticus (IX, 18). On being urged by Caesar to come to Rome and appear in the Senate, Cicero replied that if he came he would oppose the proposition to sanction Caesar's march to Spain and to send an army to Greece, and would make a speech lamenting Pompey's present position. Caesar replied that this would not be at all satisfactory to him, and when Cicero reiterated that he would either speak in this vein or not come at all, he left with the request to Cicero to think it over.

Letter 28. After Caesar had taken possession of Rome and the state treasure and made arrangements for the government of Italy and the command of the troops during his absence, he set out on the march to Spain, where Pompey's legates Petreius and Afranius were in command of considerable forces. Cicero then saw that there was no hope whatsoever of peace, and determined to leave Italy.

This letter was written in considerable excitement, as is evident from the somewhat abrupt style, and especially the frequent omissions of words.

17. Philotimi: probably the freedman referred to in Letter 22. He is frequently mentioned in the letters of this period as a bearer of confidential dispatches.

18. exanimavit omnes: *has frightened the life out of all.* The fact that Philotimus' fabrications were usually in Pompey's favor made his present report of Caesar's success seem more credible.

19. obdurui: *I have grown hardened.*

20. volare dicitur: *he is said to be flying forward.*

21. coniunxisset: construe with *dubitabat . . . nemo quin.* The united forces would contain five legions. **adfert**: sc. *Philotimus.*

23. Pompeium . . . fecisse: presumably with the purpose of marching through Gaul and operating in conjunction with his legates in Spain. Of course this rumor was absolutely untrue, and merely the product of the general excitement that prevailed at Rome.

24. αὐθεντικῶς: *on good authority.* **Melitam . . . capessamus**: *we should make for Malta.* The same construction occurs in *Epistulae ad Atticum*, IX, 6, 2: *sed, opinor, quiescamus.* The subjunctive is probably to be explained as hortatory.

25. dum quid in Hispania: i.e. *dum sciamus quid in Hispania agatur.* On the ellipsis see the introductory note. **Quod**: i.e. *Melitam capessere.*

Page 147. **1. Caesaris litteris**: Caesar had written while en route for Spain urging Cicero not to take any part in the war; see *Epistulae ad Atticum*, X, 8 B. This is a literal quotation from Caesar's letter.

5. meo solum capite: *for myself alone;* an expression analogous to the phrase *meo nomine* = *on my own account.*

7. M. Caelii . . . epistolam: Letter 29.

8. miserabiliter: *in a plaintive tone.*

10. pueri nostri: Cicero's son Marcus and his nephew Quintus.

12 dignitatione: *the dignity of his position.* Young Marcus was just under sixteen, and had only recently been invested with the *toga virilis.*

13. Melitam: sc. *capessemus.*

15. Antonio: Marcus Antonius was acting in Caesar's absence as commander of the troops in Italy, and was practically governor of the country.

17. Servium: Servius Sulpicius Rufus, a distinguished jurist for whom Cicero had profound respect.

18. Nonas: sc. *Maias.*

19. Quartanam: sc. *febrim. Quartana* (from *quartus*) was the term used to designate the particular stage of malarial fever, in which the fever occurred only every fourth day.

Letter 29. This letter was inclosed in no. 28. On the writer, Marcus Caelius Rufus, see the introductory note to Letter 16. Caelius was at this time with Caesar on the march to Spain.

21. nihil nisi triste: *nothing that is not gloomy. Nihil* is object of *cogitare.*

23. non . . . aperuisti: *failed to reveal.* **ilico**: *on the spot;* derived from *in* + *loco.*

24. Per fortunas tuas: a very earnest appeal; *by all that is holy.*

25. quid gravius . . . consulas: *take any important step.*

Page 148. 1. futura esset: the subject is *sententia.*

3. rationem: *policy.*

5. his intercessionibus: especially the veto of the tribune Metellus who had not only tried to prevent Caesar from seizing the state treasure, but had used his power to block the passage of Caesar's propositions in the Senate; see Caesar, *de Bello Civili*, I, 33. Caesar seems to have been so exasperated by this, as well as by the fact that Domitius and others whom he had set free after the surrender of Corfinium had taken up arms again, that he intended to pursue a different policy toward his opponents.

7–9. si . . . sunt; si . . . valemus: the apodosis is omitted, but the general sense of it is easily understood. The omission is quite in keeping with the excited tone of the letter.

10. conturbare: *to ruin.*

11. impiam: *unloving.* The desire that Pompey might be defeated would, if Cicero were with him, be directed against the latter also.

13. offensae: *odium*, i.e. with Pompey and his followers. When Cicero did finally join the forces in Epirus, he was received rather coldly by some of the leaders.

14, 15. facere, accedere: subjects of *est*.

16. stultitiae: see A. 343, c. B. 198, 3.

17. optimatem . . . optimum: *one of the better classes . . . the better cause. Optimas* (derived from *optimus*) had become a political term, denoting a member of the aristocratic party, which advocated government by the Senate and bitterly opposed Caesar and the other democratic leaders.

19. quas: the antecedent is *Hispaniis*.

22. medius fidius: *upon my word. Dius fidius* is the personification of honor; *me* is the asseverative particle which is also found in the oath *me hercules*.

23. non dicendo: *without actually saying so.*

24. have: imperative of *avere* (*havere*) = *to be well.* Like *salve* (from salvere) it was regularly used as a greeting.

29. hoc a te . . . contendissem: *entreated you to do this.*

32. te . . . eo demittas, etc: *get yourself into the hole*, etc. Caelius' entreaties and Caesar's wishes accomplished nothing, for about a month after this letter was sent to Atticus, Cicero left Italy for Epirus.

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